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Φιλοσοφίαν δὶ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λίγω, οὐδὶ τὴν Πλατώνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουςιῖον τι καὶ 'Λειστοτιλικήν' ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴεηται πας' ἐκάστὴ τῶν αἰεισίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεζοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἘΚΛΕ ΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. 1.

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ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For JULY, 1833.

Art. I. 1. Lectures on Poetry and General Literature. Delivered at the Royal Institution in 1830 and 1831. By James Montgomery, Author of "The World before the Flood," "The Pelican Island," &c., &c. 12mo. pp. x., 394. London, 1833.

2. Readings in Poetry: a Selection from the best English Poets, from Spenser to the present Times; and Specimens of several American Poets of deserved Reputation. To which is prefixed, a brief Survey of the History of English Poetry. 12mo. pp. 419. London, 1833.

"WHEN I am a man! is the poetry of childhood. When I " was a child, is the poetry of age.' The truth and beauty of this fine observation of Mr. Montgomery's will be felt by every reader. But it is not merely true: there is a world of truth in it. It describes at once, and as only a poet could have done, what poetry is, and what are its aim and office. Poetry is the perspective of the moral scene. Those 'realities of mortal life which, by near contact, strongly affect the senses,' it 'removes to that due distance which clothes them with picturesque and ideal beauty.' And its moral purpose is, to make the past and the future preponderate over the present, and, by this means, to refine and elevate the sentiments, to counteract the sordid passions, and to render the man a more intellectual, if not a more virtuous being. The aspirations of youth, such as poetry enkindles, if illusive, are salutary and generous illusions; while the recollections of the man, carried back to childhood, the radiance of poetry illumining the distant perspective, have often wakened regrets akin to virtue, and recalled the instructions and principles of life's better days.'

But there is the poetry of history as well as of human life. Nations have their past and their future, their treasured recollections, and their anticipations of future grandeur. The traditions of every people go back to a golden age, the charm of which is wholly derived from its distance; for the only objects discernible in the haze of remote antiquity are clouds and shadows which take their shape from the eye that gazes on them. But, as nations grow old, the principle of hope becomes feeble, and nothing is talked of but the good old times. Then comes on the fretful hatred of innovation, the dread of all change, the miserly clinging to possessions for their own sake, the sordid, imbecile conservative passion which succeeds to extinguished energy and defeated ambition. Alas! for the nations, to whom the future presents no visions of glory to enkindle a generous spirit of enterprise and a longing after unattained greatness! The paralysis of hope is the sure presage, or rather the fatal symptom of decay.

In this respect, Old Europe and Young America present a contrast strictly analogous to that of the youth and the sexagenarian. The poetry of the one looks wholly back to the past; that of the other, so far as it is unborrowed, regards chiefly the future. The imagination of the older nations is occupied with the ruins of time and the phantoms of departed greatness, with fallen monuments and hoary antiquities. The burden of the lamentation

echoed from the seats of the world's vacated empire is,

' Roma, Roma, Roma, Roma, Non e piu com' era prima.'

What Italy was, is the poetry of Europe. What America will be, is the poetry of the new World. Hitherto, however, the romance of the future has occupied her politicians more than her poets. To an American imagination, the true Hesperides is the Valley of the Mississippi. 'We have no remembrances,' says an American Writer, 'like those which cluster about York minster. 'England has no anticipations like those awakened at the junction

of the Ohio with the Mississippi.'

But there are seasons when the man is too busy to indulge in the poetical anticipations of the future, or to surrender himself to pensive reminiscences of former times. Small chance has then the poet of winning his attention from the objects that bind him to the present hour,—the things that are seen and temporal. And in like manner, there are periods of peculiar bustle and excitement, when poetry ceases to interest,—when this 'eldest, rarest, 'and most excellent of the fine arts' seems to lose its hold and influence on the popular mind, and is regarded as but insipid trifling. Is not this the state of things among us at the present moment? And does not the character of the times supply the explanation of the acknowledged decline of the demand for poetry?

'It is a remarkable coincidence,' says Mr. Montgomery, 'that,

with the exception of ancient Rome, the noblest productions of ' the Muses have appeared in the middle ages between gross bar-' barism and voluptuous refinement; when the human mind yet ' possessed strong traits of its primeval grandeur and simplicity, but, divested of its former ferociousness, and chastened by 'courteous manners, felt itself rising in knowledge, virtue, and 'intellectual superiority.' The exception is, however, too considerable to consist with the establishment of the rule; and in fact, the explanation is far more poetical than philosophical. The 'primeval grandeur and simplicity' here ascribed to the human mind, are not traits of the social character of any stage of civilization, much less of what is supposed to be the first stage, barbarism. But each stage of society has its poetry. The rude minstrelsies of barbarous times are songs of triumph, full of hope and boasting, and the brief records of the past are employed only to give dignity to the present scene, which borrows half its light and lustre from the imaginary future. The golden age of poetry is that which succeeds to such a period of rude energy, when the national memory has become stored with legends of older times, and the patriotic anticipation of his country's future prosperity warms the poet's heart. Such was the golden era of Greece, between the age of Pisistratus and the subversion of the free republics by Philip of Macedon. Within this period, remarks our Lecturer,

but especially after the battles of Marathon and Salamis had raised the reputation of their arms to an equality with the eminence of their arts, the greatest number of their greatest men appeared, and flourished in such thick contiguity and rapid succession, that the mere relics, the floating fragments of the wreck of literature, which have been preserved because they could not sink in the dead sea of oblivion that engulfed and stagnated over the buried riches of a hundred argosies,—the mere relics and wreck of literature preserved to us from that brief period, are of as much value as all that has been inherited, or recovered rather, from the ages before that died—may I say it? without will,—and the ages after that had comparatively little wealth either to live upon or to bequeath; though the country, under various forms of republican government, and as a province of Rome, continued to be the seat of arts, science, and philosophy through many succeeding ages.'

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The Augustan age of Rome lasted from the second triumvirate to the close of the reign of Trajan; but the most splendid production of that age was ripened under the full beams of imperial favour, at that interval of glorious repose when the nation had leisure to amuse their imagination with the romance of the past, and to solace their pride with the dream of perpetual empire. These are the feelings which inspired the Æneid, and which its perusal was adapted to foster. The reign of Elizabeth in our own

country was a period of similar repose, at once rich with the deposites of more troublous times, and replete with hope and energy. It is interesting to observe how, in his historical plays more especially, Shakspeare, in the ardour of patriotism and loyalty, avails himself of all that is most stirring and glorious in our national annals, not for the purpose of exciting pensive regrets, by suggesting invidious comparisons, but to add zest to the present, while all his references to future times are those of hopeful augury. Spenser breathes a similar spirit. Milton had, in his happy youth, conceived the idea of a national poem; but, having fallen on evil days, which rendered memory painful, and left him as a patriot almost without hope, the great Bard turned his intellectual eyes from the things that are seen and temporal to those which are unseen and eternal, employing his memory on the first

events of time, and fixing his hopes on eternity.

When poets turn satirists, it is a proof, not merely that the state of morals has become deteriorated by prosperity and voluptuousness, but that the spirit of poetry itself is passing away. To Milton, Dryden succeeded, and to Dryden, Pope. Montgomery dates the second grand era of modern English Literature from the Restoration. The early part of this period, the reigns of Charles II. and James II., he remarks, was distinguished for works of wit and profligacy. 'The drama, in particular, was pre-eminent for the genius that adorned, and the 'abominations that disgraced its scenes.' Between Pope and Cowper, we have the names of Collins, Gray, Goldsmith, and Churchill *. With these brilliant exceptions, not a poet flourished during that interval, 'who had power to command in any enviable degree, or even for a little while, that popular breath of applause which the aspirant after immortality inhales as the ' prelude to it.'

Verse, indeed, continues Mr. Montgomery, was so low in public estimation, and so little read, that few of the fugitive pieces of the Lour, on their passage to oblivion, attracted sufficient notice to defray the expenses of their journey thither. Cowper's first volume, partly from the grave character of the longer pieces, and the purposely rugged, rambling, slip-shod versification, was long neglected; till The Task, the noblest effort of his muse, composed under the inspiration of cheerfulness, hope, and love, unbosoming the whole soul of his affections, intelligence, and piety,—at once made our countrymen feel, that neither the genius of poetry had fled from our isle, nor had the heart for it died in the breasts of its inhabitants.' pp. 367, 8.

From Cowper, the Author dates the commencement of the third great era of modern English Literature; 'since it was in

^{*} Thomson and Young were contemporary with Pope. Akenside might seem to have claimed notice, but he was never popular.

'no small measure to the inspiration of his Task, that our coun'trymen are indebted, if not for the existence, yet certainly for
'the character of the new school of poetry, established first at
'Bristol, and afterwards transferred to the Lakes, as scenery
'more congenial and undisturbed for the exercise of contem'plative genius.' The excitement of the period at which Southey,
Coleridge, and Wordsworth almost contemporaneously started
into fame, was favourable to poetry, because it was favourable to
speculation and full of hope. The public mind had been roused
from its torpor, without being as yet engrossed with the conflict
that had already commenced.

'The minds and the feelings, the passions and prejudices of men of all ranks and attainments, from the highest to the lowest, were at that time roused and interested by the fair and promising, the terrific and stupendous events of the French Revolution; and the excitement of this stupendous phenomenon in the state of Europe, prepared this nation especially, from the freedom with which all questions might be discussed, for that peculiar cast of subjects and of style, both in verse and prose, for which the present period is distinguished from every former one.' p. 369.

To Southey and Wordsworth succeeded, as reigning favourites, Campbell, Scott, Moore, and Byron; six names, says Mr. Montgomery, (and we are tempted to substitute his own name for the fifth,) 'that may be ranked with any other six, averaging the 'measure of genius on both sides, not only of our own country, but of any other that were contemporaries.' We must transcribe the remarks upon the circumstances which have contributed, if not to elicit, yet, to modify the character of their genius.

'It must be acknowledged by all who have justly appreciated the works of these authors, (which are exceedingly dissimilar in those respects wherein each is most excellent,) that the great national events of their day have had no small influence in training their genius, leading them to the choice of subjects, and modifying their style. So far, then, these circumstances have been sources of inspiration; but there is a drawback with regard to each, that, yielding to the impatient temper of the times in their eager pursuit of fame, they have occasionally aimed at the temple on the mountain top, not by the slow, painful, and laborious paths which their immortal predecessors trod, and which all must tread who would be sure of gaining the eminence, and keeping their station when they have gained it,-but they have rather striven to scale the heights by leaping from rock to rock up the most precipitous side, forcing their passage through the impenetrable forests that engirdle it, or plunging across the headlong torrents that descend in various windings from their fountains at the peak. Thus they have endeavoured to attract attention and excite astonishment, rather by prodigious acts of spontaneous exertion, than to display gradually, and eventually to the utmost advantage, the well directed and

perfectly concentrated force of their talents. In a word, it may be doubted whether one of the living five (for Byron is now beyond the reach of warning) has ever yet done his very best in a single effort worthy of himself (I mean in their longer works), by sacrificing all his merely good, middling, and inferior thoughts, which he has in common with every body else, and appearing solely in his peculiar character,—that character of excellence, whatever it may be, wherein he is distinct from all the living and all the dead;—the personal identity of his genius shining only where he can outshine all rivals, or where he can shine alone when rivalry is excluded. Till each of the survivors has done this, it can hardly be affirmed that he has secured the immortality of one of his great intellectual offspring:—there is a vulnerable part of each, which Death with his dart, or Time with his scythe, may sooner or later strike down to oblivion.

The unprecedented sale of the poetical works of Scott and Byron, with the moderate success of others, proves that a great change had taken place, both in the character of authors and in the taste of readers, within forty years. About the beginning of the French Revolution, scarcely any thing in rhyme, except the ludicrous eccentricities of Peter Pindar, would take with the public: a few years afterwards, booksellers ventured to speculate in quarto volumes of verse, at from five shillings to a guinea a line, and in various instances were abund-

antly recompensed for their liberality.' pp. 377-379.

'The market, however,' it is remarked, 'has much fallen 'within these last ten years; and the richest dealer (Scott) long 'ago invested his capital in other funds.' The 'Waverley novels' are undoubtedly, says Mr. Montgomery, 'as the productions of 'one mind exuberant beyond example in this cold climate, the 'most extraordinary works of the age.' But nothing about them is more extraordinary than the complete success with which the Poet transmigrated into the Novelist, at the moment when his first term of literary fame seemed to be near expiring, and his energies to be on the wane. No author was ever so completely the successor to himself, by a second lease of popularity.

'From the time of the irruption of Southey and his irregulars into the region of Parnassus, where all had been torpor and formality before, with the exception of the little domain of Cowper, poetry rose so rapidly into fashion as to share the patronage of sentimentalists and other idle readers, till the Lady of the Lake and Childe Harold bore away the palm of popularity from the most renowned of their contemporaries,—the ladies and gentlemen that live in novels, and no where else. There was, indeed, a long and desperate resistance made on the part of the novelists against the poets.' p. 385.

But with small success, till Scott himself, despairing of the better cause, went over to the enemy, and founded a dynasty of novelists, who have usurped the ascendancy due to Poetry. But of this revolution, the Author of Waverley was not the originator. He merely took advantage of it, having ceased to write poetry, only

because the public were ceasing to become readers of it, even in that shape-most adapted to excite the palled appetite, and to rouse the languid imagination,—the metrical romance.

What, then, are we to regard as the real causes of this decline in the demand for poetry, extending not merely to the productions of the day, but even to the staple poetry of English literature? Is it that the article has been cheapened by over-production? Or that the taste for the stronger excitement furnished by the novel or tale has destroyed a relish for the simpler and purer enjoyment? Each of these causes may have had some influence; but we are disposed to think that the chief reason that poetry interests so little, is, that political events have imparted so vivid and engrossing an interest to the events of the day, as to make the present predominate, even in the imagination, over the past or the future. The near objects have shut out the perspective in which hope and memory love to expatiate. History is ransacked by the party writer or orator for precedents and analogies, that may be pressed into the service of his argument, or give plausibility to his sinister forebodings; but men look back to past times without fondness, and forward to the future without confidence. How then should poetry gain attention, or find scope for her gentle ministry? If she were to mingle in the hot and dusty affray, it must be disguised as a combatant, with weapons all unfit for her proper office!

The public mind is not sufficiently at leisure to attend to the cultivation of polite literature. Hurried on from object to object, it obeys only the impulses of curiosity or of interest; and the sole species of productions which obtain popularity, are those which, like the novel, tickle the curiosity, or such as bear the obvious stamp of utility. Mr. Montgomery describes with a caustic severity unusual with him, but quite pardonable in a poet, the character of the literature of the present day.

Hence, the literature of our time is commensurate with the universality of education; nor is it less various than universal, to meet capacities of all sizes, minds of all acquirements, and tastes of every degree. Books are multiplied on every subject on which any thing or nothing can be said, from the most abstruse and recondite to the most simple and puerile: and while the passion of book-jobbers is to make the former as familiar as the latter by royal ways to all the sciences, there is an equally perverse rage among genuine authors to make the latter as august and imposing as the former, by disguising commonplace topics with the colouring of imagination, and adorning the most insignificant themes with all the pomp of verse. This degradation of the high, and exaltation of the low,—this dislocation, in fact, of every thing, is one of the most striking proofs of the extraordinary diffusion of knowledge,—and of its corruption too,—if not a symptom of its declension by being so heterogeneously blended, till all shall be neutralised. Indeed, when millions of intellects, of as many different di-

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mensions and as many different degrees of culture, are perpetually at work, and it is almost as easy to speak as to think, and to write as to speak, there must be a proportionate quantity of thought put into circulation.

'Meanwhile, public taste, pampered with delicacies even to loathing, and stimulated to stupidity with excessive excitement, is at once ravenous and mawkish,—gratified with nothing but novelty, nor with novelty itself for more than an hour. To meet this diseased appetite, in prose not less than in verse, a factitious kind of the marvellous has been invented, consisting not in the exhibition of supernatural incidents or heroes, but in such distortion, high colouring, and exaggeration of natural incidents and ordinary personages, by the artifices of style, and the audacity of sentiment employed upon them, as shall produce that sensation of wonder in which half-instructed minds delight. This preposterous effort at display may be traced through every walk of polite literature, and in every channel of publication; nay, it would hardly be venturing too far to say, that every popular author is occasionally a juggler, rope-dancer, or posture-maker, in this way, to propitiate those of his readers, who will be pleased with nothing less than feats of legerdemain in the exercises of the pen.' pp. 373—374.

After noticing the influence which the great national events of the times have had in training the genius and modifying the style of the leading poets, the Author thus adverts to 'a small, 'but peculiar class of versifiers,' who have contrived to secure a transient and limited popularity.

'The leaders of this select band of poetasters are men of some fancy, a little learning, less taste, and almost no feeling. invented a manner of writing and thinking frigidly artificial, while affecting to be negligently natural, though no more resembling nature, than the flowers represented in shell-work on lacquered grounds, and framed in glass cases by our grandmothers, resembled the roses and carnations which they caricatured. They think, if they think at all, like people of the nineteenth century, (for certainly nobody ever thought like them before,) but they write in the verbiage of the sixteenth, and then imagine that they rival the poets of Elizabeth's reign, because they mimic all that is obsolete in them, which in fact is only preserved in Spenser and Shakspeare themselves, because it is inseparably united with what can never become obsolete,-"thoughts that breathe and words that burn," not less intelligible at this day than when they were first uttered. It might be shewn, that the finest passages in our ancient writers are those in which the phraseology has never become antiquated, nor ever can be so till the English shall be a dead language. This school must pass away with the present generation, as surely as did the Della Cruscan of the last century.' p. 381.

We wish to place in immediate juxta-position to these remarks, the following sensible observations upon the fixed character and probable perpetuity of the English tongue.

From the reign of Elizabeth to the protectorate of Cromwell, inclusively, there rose in phalanx, and continued in succession, minds of all orders, and hands for all work, in poetry, philosophy, history, and theology, which have bequeathed to posterity such treasures of what may be called genuine English Literature, that whatever may be the transmigrations of taste, the revolutions of style, and the fashions in popular reading, these will ever be the sterling standards. The translation of the Scriptures, settled by authority, and which, for reasons that need not be discussed here, can never be materially changed, consequently can never become obsolete,—has secured perpetuity to the youth of the English tongue; and whatever may befall the works of writers in it from other causes, they are not likely to be antiquated in the degree that has been foretold by one, whose own imperishable strains would for centuries have delayed the fulfilment of his disheartening prophecy, even if it were to be fulfilled:—

"Our sons their fathers' failing language see, And such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be."

POPE.

Now it is clear, that unless the language be improved or deteriorated, far beyond any thing that can be anticipated from the slight variations which have taken place within the last two hundred years, compared with the two hundred years preceding, Dryden cannot become what Chaucer is; especially since there seems to be a necessity laid upon all generations of Englishmen to understand, as the fathers of their mother-tongue, the great authors of the age of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.; from Spenser (though much of his poetry is wilfully obscured by affected phraseology) and Shakspeare, (the idolatry to whose name will surely never permit its divinity to die,) to Milton, whose style cannot fall into decay, while there is talent or sensibility among his countrymen to appreciate his writings. It may be confidently inferred, that the English language will remain subject to as little mutation as the Italian has been, since works of enduring excellence were first produced in it :- the prose of Boccaccio and the verse of Dante, so far as dialect is concerned, are as well understood by the common people of their country, at this day, as the writings of Chaucer and Gower are by the learned in ours.

Had no works of transcendent originality been produced within the last hundred and fifty years, it may be imagined that such fluctuations might have occurred, as would have rendered our language as different from what it was when Milton flourished, as it then was from what it had been in the days of Chaucer; with this reverse, that, during the latter, it must have degenerated as much as it had been refined during the earlier interval. But the standard of our tongue having been fixed at an era when it was rich in native idioms, full of pristine vigour, and pliable almost as sound articulate can be to sense,—and that standard having been fixed in poetry, the most permanent and perfect of all forms of literature,—as well as in the version of the Scriptures, which are necessarily the most popular species of reading,—no very considerable changes can be effected, except Britain were again ex-

posed to invasion as it was wont to be of old; and the modern Saxons or Norwegians were thus to subvert both our government and our language, and either utterly extinguish the latter, or assimilate it with their own.' pp. 361—363.

And even in that impossible event, the English language would still maintain its identity, its purity, and its moral ascendancy, as the vernacular dialect of the masters of the new world. The idiomatic correctness and purity with which the language is written by American poets and prose writers, is a circumstance which strikingly corroborates the Author's representation of the fixed character of the standard; and the general diffusion of education, together with the facilities for rapid and constant intercourse between the most widely separated branches of the English family, will tend to secure even the spoken language against being corrupted and broken up into a multiplicity of dialects, such as unwritten languages always run into, when the tribes speaking them live apart, and in a low state of civilization.

The vast expansion of the English language within the last hundred years, is one of the most remarkable events in modern history. The latest formed of all the Teutonic dialects, the mother tongue of a few millions of islanders at the north-western angle of Europe, which few of the continental literati affected to understand, unknown to courts, to diplomacy, and almost to commerce, is now the mother tongue of the most powerful nation in either hemisphere; is spoken by at least forty millions; is the court language of India and Southern Africa, the almost sacred language of the heathen tribes who have been brought in contact with our Missionaries; is diffusing itself over all seas and up all rivers as the language of commerce, and is being more or less carried by British travellers to the remotest regions of the earth.

We have insensibly digressed from the subject of Poetry. Its influence upon language, however, is a consideration which ought not to be overlooked in estimating its power and use. It is not only the most enduring form of literature, but it gives duration to the literature of which it is a form, and to the language which it embalms in verse. Poetry, remarks Mr. Montgomery,

opossesses a paramount degree of influence from the fact, that sentiments communicated in verse, are identified with the very words through which they have been received, and which frequently, more than the character of the sentiments themselves, give force, perspicuity, and permanence to the latter. The language and its import being remembered together, the instruction conveyed is rendered more distinct and indelible. The discourses of the orator, with all their beauty of embellishment, ardour of diction, and cogency of argument, are recollected rather by their effect than in their reality: what he has conceived and expressed with transcendent ability, we call to mind in its general bearings only, and repeat to ourselves, or to others, by imper-

fect imitation, and in very incompetent verbiage. This, of necessity, must be far inferior, in emphasis and clearness, to the original composition, whether that were spontaneous or elaborate; and if such be the case with eloquence, much more will it be so with history, philosophy, and prose literature at large, from which the narratives, speculations, and reasonings can only be recalled in the abstract, however fascinating in perusal the style of the writer may be. Of these, the epitomised matter, moral, or lesson alone, remains in the mind, which, being blended with our stock of general knowledge, general principles, general motives,—thus remotely becomes influential on our conduct and our lives. Poetry, on the other hand, takes root in the memory as well as the understanding, not in essence only, but in the very sounds and syllables that incorporate it.

Lord Bacon, remarking upon the destruction of all other works of men's hands, says of letters,—" The images of men's wits remain unmaimed in books for ever, exempt from the injuries of time,—because capable of perpetual renovation. Neither can they properly be called images, because, in their way, they generate still, and cast forth seeds in the minds of men, raising and procreating infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages; so that, if the invention of a ship was thought so noble and wonderful,—which transports riches and merchandise from place to place, and consociates the most remote regions in participation of their fruits and commodities,—how much more are letters to be magnified,—which, as ships passing through the vast sea of time, connect the remotest ages of wits and inventions in mutual traffic and correspondence!"—Of the Advancement of Learning, Book i.

In this commerce of literature,—the Scriptures and the writings of divines excepted,—the compositions of the poets are undoubtedly the most extensively and abidingly influential, because they have had, in youth at least, the greatest power over the greatest minds; when, more even than history and uninspired ethics themselves, they have tended to form the characters, opinions, and actions of those who lead or govern the multitude, whether as princes, warriors, statesmen, philosophers, or philanthropists. The compositions of the poets have also this transcendent advantage over all others, that they are the solace and delight of the most accomplished of the finer, feebler, better sex, whose morals, manners, and deportment give the tone to society; -not only as being themselves (to speak technically) its most agreeable component parts, but because they are the mothers and nurses of the rising generation, as well as the sisters, lovers, and companions most acceptable to the existing one, at that time when the affections of both sexes are gentlest, warmest, liveliest, and most easily and ineffaceably touched, purified, tempered, and exalted.' pp. 239-243.

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The moral influence of poetry, however, is far from being proportioned to its intrinsic excellence. The rudest numbers are often found to exert the greatest power over the imagination; and it is in the earlier stages of civilization, as in the early years of life, that the imagination is not only most susceptible, but most

dominant, and that what charms and rules the imagination must have consequently the most important influence on society. Voluptuous refinement is unfavourable to genius, chiefly as it tends to deaden the imagination by pandering to the senses, and to preclude those strong emotions, the recollections of which are the materials with which fancy works. True genius, however, at least the highest kind of genius, springs up in despite of every disadvantage, forcing its way through the most arid soil, almost independently of circumstances. We cannot regard it as peculiar to any stage of civilization. The probability that nobler productions will yet appear than the great poems that have immortalized the names of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton, resolves itself into the chances that, during the next thousand years, minds of the same order may come into existence, specially endowed with the rare gift of poetical invention.

If any particular stage of society, intermediate between gross barbarism and voluptuous refinement, were peculiarly favourable to the development of poetical genius, that which now exists in the United States of America, would seem to promise a rich accession to English literature. Hitherto, however, America has produced no poets of the highest order; and it is only of late years that any have appeared, whose productions rise above mediocrity. We have noticed, at the head of this article, a Selection of poetry, 'published under the direction of the Committee of General Literature appointed by the Society for promoting 'Christian Knowledge', which is remarkable as being the first attempt, we believe, to incorporate specimens of the American poets with the standard literature of this country. Although we cannot say much in favour of the selection itself, which has not been entrusted to a competent judgement *, we are pleased to notice this mark of an improved feeling of liberal cordiality in such a quarter towards our American brethren.

^{*} In judging of the merits of such a selection, we are bound to take into consideration the avowed purpose, and to make large allowance for the accidents of individual taste. The Editor has laboured to choose such extracts as convey some useful lesson, and has been anxious to insert nothing beyond the level of a youthful capacity. It is difficult, even with this explanation, to account for the choice of some of the extracts, but still more for the caprice or forgetfulness which has led the Editor to omit Collins, while he has found room for Tickell and Prior, and to pass over Jane Taylor, while noticing several modern poets of inferior genius. Lord Byron and Moore are excluded, we presume on account of the exceptionable character of some of their writings; yet, it is little short of absurd to suppress their names in a selection from modern poets. There are other instances of strange partiality. Surely Isaac Watts claimed some mention.

'America', it is remarked by the Editor, 'must be regarded as the intellectual child of England, the inheritor of our language, our laws, and our national feelings. To us, such a country can never be an object of indifference; and there are few Englishmen that will read the specimens of American poetry in this volume without pride and pleasure. All the qualities that make our national literature valuable, the Americans have preserved, in substance, if not in degree. Though, beyond the Atlantic, there are not, as yet, names that can compete with our poets of the first rank, there are many of a secondary order, approaching the first class more nearly than the third. Few poets ever described the charms of external nature with more simple and affecting beauty than Bryant. In no one is the Christian philosopher and Christian poet more completely united than in Dana. Pierpont's odes are full of fire and vigour. In all will be found a spirit of unfeigned devotion to the Author of all good, and an acknowledgement that the poetic powers, like every other perfect gift, are derived from "the Father of lights, in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

Specimens of some of these American poets have been given in our volumes. Paulding's "Backwoodsman" was reviewed on its first appearance in 1818; and Wilcox's "Religion of Taste" in a recent Number. A few of the names are new to us; but we could have supplied, we believe, a richer selection. To represent J. G. C. Brainard as 'infinitely superior' to Kirke White, is to expose the incompetency of the critic: the specimens given of his poetry neither bear out this invidious eulogy, nor justify the comparison of his genius to that of Burns, which it in no respect resembles. On the other hand, N. P. Willis is characterized as 'a young poet of great promise.' Let our readers judge from the following specimens, whether there is not something beyond promise in such a writer. They are incomparably the most beautiful poems of all that are given as the productions of American writers, not excepting the specimens of Sprague, who may be ranked second.

'THE SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

'Wo! for my vine-clad home!
That it should ever be so dark to me,
With its bright threshold, and its whispering tree!
That I should ever come,
Fearing the lonely echo of a tread,
Beneath the roof-tree of my glorious dead!

'Lead on! my orphan boy!
Thy home is not so desolate to thee,
And the low shiver in the linden-tree
May bring to thee a joy;
But oh! how dark is the bright home before thee!
To her who with a joyous spirit bore thee!

'Lead on! for thou art now
My sole remaining helper. God hath spoken,
And the strong heart I lean'd upon is broken;
And I have seen his brow,
The forehead of my upright one and just,
Trod by the hoof of battle to the dust.

'He will not meet thee there,
Who bless'd thee at the eventide, my son!
And when the shadows of the night steal on,
He will not call to prayer.
The lips that melted, giving thee to God,
Are in the icy keeping of the sod!

'Ay, my own boy! thy sire
Is with the sleepers of the valley cast,
And the proud glory of my life hath past,
With his high glance of fire.
Wo! that the linden and the vine should bloom,
And a just man be gather'd to the tomb!

Why, bear them proudly, boy!

It is the sword he girded to his thigh,

It is the helm he wore in victory!

And shall we have no joy?

For thy green vales, O Switzerland, he died!

I will forget my sorrow—in my pride!

'THE BOY.

There's something in a noble boy,
A brave, free-hearted, careless one,
With his uncheck'd, unbidden joy;
His dread of books and love of fun,
And in his clear and ready smile,
Unshaded by a thought of guile,
And unrepress'd by sadness,—
Which brings me to my childhood back,
As if I trod its very track,
And felt its very gladness.

And yet it is not in his play,
When every trace of thought is lost,
And not when you would call him gay,
That his bright presence thrills me most.
His shout may ring upon the hill,
His voice be echo'd in the hall,
His merry laugh like music trill,
And I in sadness hear it all,—
For, like the wrinkles on my brow,
I scarcely notice such things now.

But when, amid the earnest game,
He stops, as if he music heard,
And, heedless of his shouted name
As of the carol of a bird,
Stands gazing on the empty air,
As if some dream were passing there;
"Tis then that on his face I look,
His beautiful, but thoughtful face,
And, like a long-forgotten book,
Its sweet familiar meanings trace;
Remembering a thousand things
Which pass'd me on those golden wings,

Which time has fetter'd now,—
Things that came o'er me with a thrill,
And left me silent, sad, and still,
And threw upon my brow

A holier and a gentler cast, That was too innocent to last.

"Tis strange how thoughts upon a child Will, like a presence, sometimes press, And when his pulse is beating wild, And life itself is in excess,—
When foot and hand, and ear and eye, Are all with ardour straining high,—
How in his heart will spring
A feeling, whose mysterious thrall
Is stronger, sweeter far than all;
And on its silent wing,
How, with the clouds, he 'll float away,
As wandering and as lost as they!'

If our readers have not before seen the following beautiful poem by Charles Sprague, they will thank us for extracting it.

'THE WINGED WORSHIPPERS.

'These lines were written on the occasion of two swallows flying into a church during divine service.

'Gay, guiltless pair,
What seek ye from the fields of heaven?
Ye have no need of prayer;
Ye have no sins to be forgiven.

Why perch ye here,
Where mortals to their Maker bend?
Can your pure spirits fear
The God ye never could offend?

'Ye never knew
The crimes for which we come to weep:
Penance is not for you,
Bless'd wanderers of the upper deep.

'To you 'tis given
To wake sweet Nature's untaught lays;
Beneath the arch of heaven
To chirp away a life of praise.

'Then spread each wing,
Far, far above, o'er lakes and lands,
And join the choirs that sing
In you blue dome not rear'd with hands.

'Or, if ye stay,
To note the consecrated hour,
Teach me the airy way,
And let me try your envied power.

'Above the crowd,
On upward wings could I but fly,
I'd bathe in yon bright cloud,
And seek the stars that gem the sky.

'Twere heaven indeed,
Through fields of trackless light to soar,
On Nature's charms to feed,
And Nature's own great God adore!' pp. 398, 9.

Lydia H. Sigourney is not 'the Felicia Hemans of America', for America has no Felicia Hemans, save her whose poetry is common to both countries; nor is there any trace whatever in the extracts from the American poetess, of 'a more lively perception of the beauties of nature.' Such criticisms are impertinent and unmeaning. We have no wish, however, to disparage the poetical taste and thought which are exhibited in the following specimen. We regret only the fondness shewn by the author, in common with many of the American poets, for the jolting sort of verse, which is neither anapæstic nor dactylic, nor of any other legitimate species; it is neither a stately march, a gentle amble, nor a vigorous gallop, but resembles a pace between a limp and a canter.

THE CORAL INSECT.

Toil on! toil on! ye ephemeral train,
Who build in the tossing and treacherous main;
Toil on,—for the wisdom of man ye mock,
With your sand-based structures and domes of rock;
Your columns the fathomless fountains lave,
And your arches spring up to the crested wave;
Ye're a puny race, thus boldly to rear
A fabric so vast in a realm so drear.

'Ye bind the deep with your secret zone; The ocean is seal'd, and the surge a stone;

Fresh wreaths from the coral pavement spring, Like the terraced pride of Assyria's king; The turf looks green where the breakers roll'd; O'er the whirlpool ripens the rind of gold; The sea-snatch'd isle is the home of men, And mountains exult where the wave hath been.

But why do ye plant, 'neath the billows dark,'
The wrecking reef for the gallant bark?
There are snares enough on the tented field,
'Mid the blossom'd sweets that the valleys yield;
There are serpents to coil, ere the flowers are up;
There 's a poison-drop in man's purest cup,
There are foes that watch for his cradle-breath,
And why need ye sow the floods with death?

With mouldering bones the deeps are white,
From the ice-clad pole to the tropics bright;—
The mermaid hath twisted her fingers cold
With the mesh of the sea-boy's curls of gold,
And the gods of ocean have frown'd to see
The mariner's bed in their halls of glee;
Hath earth no graves, that ye thus must spread
The boundless sea for the thronging dead?

'Ye build,—ye build,—but ye enter not in,
Like the tribes whom the desert devour'd in their sin;
From the land of promise ye fade and die,
Ere its verdure gleams forth on your weary eye;
As the kings of the cloud-crown'd pyramid
Their noteless bones in oblivion hid;
Ye slumber unmark'd 'mid the desolate main,
While the wonder and pride of your works remain.'

We make no apology either to Mr. Montgomery or to our readers for having stepped aside to pluck these flowers of transatlantic growth. We now hasten to conclude our notice of the Lectures which have suggested the train of remarks in the present We ought before, perhaps, to have given some more Article. distinct account of their Contents; instead of which, we have extracted passages from all parts of the volume, to serve our own purpose; which we are sure the Author will forgive us for doing, when we add, that our purpose has partly been, to recommend the work to the perusal of our readers, by shewing that it is truly 'prose ' by a poet.' The Lectures are six in number. The first asserts, in a strain of fervid eulogy, the pre-eminence of poetry among The second defines, or rather describes 'what is 'poetical'-in sights and sounds, in place and circumstance, in the aspects of visible nature and the realities of human life. The form of poetry, the characteristics of prose and verse, Hebrew VOL. X.-N.S.

poetry, Greek and Latin prosody, and English metres, are the subject of Lect. iii. The fourth treats of the Diction of Poetry; the next, of the various classes of poetry; and the concluding lecture is on the poetical character and the themes and influences of poetry. To these Lectures are added, a Retrospect of Literature in three sections, and a View of Modern English Literature in two, which, after having been delivered at the Royal Institution, were printed in the first volume of "The Metropolitan", edited by Mr. Campbell.

What poetry is, it is much easier to describe than to define; which holds good of many other things. Molière's bourgeois gentilhomme is facetiously told by his instructor, 'que tout 'ce qui n'est point vers est prose, et tout ce qui n'est point prose 'est vers.' Now this would really seem, from Mr. Montgomery's account of the matter, to be very nearly all that can be said in the

way of definition.

' Poetry,' says Mr. Montgomery, 'in the sense which I propose to have always in mind, is verse, in contradistinction to prose; and this is the sense (define and dispute as we may respecting the ethereal quality itself) in which every body uses the word. Poetry, to be complete, must be verse; and all the wit of man cannot supply a more convenient definition. Every thing else which may be insisted on as essential to good poetry is not peculiar to it, but may, with due discretion and happy effect, be incorporated in prose. Poetry cannot be separated from verse without becoming prose; nor can prose assume the form of verse without ceasing to be prose altogether. It is true that, according to common parlance, poetry in this sense may be prosaic, that is, it may have the ordinary qualities of prose, though it still retain its peculiar vehicle, - metre; and prose may be poetical, that is, it may be invested with all the customary attributes of verse, except that same peculiar and incommunicable one-metre. The change, however, is rarely to the advantage of either.

'Yet when a writer of fine fancy and commanding powers of diction, (like Dryden, in the instance lately quoted,) from the nature and inspiration of his subject, almost unconsciously grows poetical,—the poetry of his thoughts, images, or facts, come out as naturally as a blush or smile over a beautiful countenance; his pathos, sublimity, or picturesque descriptions, are in season and in place; they produce their instant effect, and are gone, like the smile or the blush, while we are

gazing upon them, leaving the general aspect unchanged.

'Prosaic verse, every body knows, is what any body may write, and nobody will endure; nor, in a polite age, can it, under any circumstances, be rendered attractive. But poetical prose, though the dullest, heaviest, clumsiest kind of literature, has, in some notorious instances, found more favour. In French, indeed, from the absolute want of a genuine poetical diction,—neither the rhythm, the rhyme, nor the reason, it may be said, of the language, allowing "thoughts that breathe" to vent themselves in "words that burn,"—a florid prose style has been adopted with signal effect in the Télémaque of Fenelon,

which no mastery of his native tongue could have made tolerable in French verse, any more than the most consummate mastery of our own could make tolerable to a good ear in English prose.' pp. 76, 7.

Some works of this description, it is remarked, have been extensively read in our 'refractory language', but their day is gone by. Hervey's Meditations, Mrs. Collier's translation of Gesner's Death of Abel, and Macpherson's 'rhapsodies,' are briefly and somewhat severely criticised. The Lecturer then proceeds to shew, that, although 'there is reason, as well as custom, in that 'conventional simplicity which best becomes prose, and that conventional ornament which is allowed to verse, splendid ornament is no more essential to verse, than naked simplicity is to prose.' The noblest and most impassioned scenes of our great Dramatist are frequently distinguished from prose only by the cadence of the verse.

'How much the power of poetry depends upon the nice inflections of rhythm alone, may be proved, by taking the finest passages of Milton or Shakspeare, and merely putting them into prose, with the least possible variation of the words themselves. The attempt would be like gathering up dewdrops, which appear jewels and pearls on the grass, but run into water into the hand: the essence and the elements remain, but the grace, the sparkle, and the form are gone. But, independent of the metrical arrangement of syllables, there is an indescribable mannerism which distinguishes poetry from prose.' p. 83.

This remark is finely illustrated by an example taken from the Hebrew Scriptures. In a subsequent lecture, treating of the diction of poetry, Mr. Montgomery gives an amusing illustration of the difference between what is poetical and what is prosaic in phraseology; and at the same time shews, 'how evanescent is 'poetical spirit, how inconvertible poetic diction', by translating three lines from Ariel's song in the Tempest, into words perfectly synonymous.

"White in him that doth fade, But doth suffer a sea-change Into something rich and strange."

'There's nothing in him that decays, But undergoes an alteration from the water Into something valuable and uncommon.'

Here, every one perceives that the poetry has escaped, and that

the residuum is flat prose.

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At the head of the English prose writers whose compositions the most nearly resemble poetry, stands Jeremy Taylor; and a florid paragraph from the first section of his 'Holy Dying' is cited with a view to shew, how far short his ornate rhetoric falls of the genuine character of poetical composition. There is a rich accumulation of thoughts, an opulence of imagery, a power of

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diction, but resembling 'an inventory of ideas and metaphors, 'rather than a select and well harmonized array of such as would best impress the mind and affect the heart, on the most solemn 'of all subjects—man's mortality.'

'And such,' continues Mr. Montgomery, 'is the general character of composition in the multitudinous works of this "old man eloquent." He is never carried away by the fervency of passion; he always preserves his presence of mind and self-possession; he can draw upon the treasures of his imagination to any amount, and can multiply examples and illustrations at leisure, to enforce his arguments with what may be called "cumulative evidence." His crowded sentences are like piles of magnificent furniture in the upholsterer's show-rooms; not tastefully displayed in the halls and saloons of a royal palace. They resemble instruments of war, curiously displayed in a national armoury; not glittering from afar, like those of well appointed legions marching to battle....Hence, with all his learning, genius, and industry, Jeremy Taylor never could be a poet, because he never went beyond himselfbeside himself, if you will. He has put the question beyond doubt: he tried verse; but his lines are like petrifactions, glittering, and hard, and cold; formed by a slow but certain process in the laboratory of abstract thought; not like flowers, springing spontaneously from a kindly soil, fresh, and fragrant, and blooming in open day. The erudite divine is always in his study Full of poetic materials as his prose is, those materials are seldom poetically disposed.' pp. 90-91.

Nor is his composition tuned to the ear. We agree with Mr. Montgomery in deprecating 'prose run mad'; but prose has its rhythm, as well as poetry, or is at least susceptible of a harmonious collocation not less pleasing. Of this, Hooker and Milton afford some exquisite examples; and to his nice perception and careful observance of the melody and cadences of prose diction, the beauty of Robert Hall's compositions is greatly owing. King James's Translators have admirably succeeded in their modulation of the language, in many parts of their Version of the poetical books. In this respect, Lowth's Version is decidedly inferior; and here all critical translators are found to fail. We could have wished that Mr. Montgomery had devoted a lecture to prose composition.

We are pleased to find Gray's merits properly appreciated and vindicated. He is pronounced to be 'one of the few, the very 'few of our greatest poets, who deserve to be studied in every 'line, for the apprehension of that wonderful sweetness, power, 'and splendour of versification which has made him (scholastic 'and difficult as he is) one of the most popular of writers, though 'his rhymes are occasionally flat, and his phrases heathen Greek 'to ordinary readers.' The secret of his supremacy consists principally in 'the consummate art with which his diction is elaborated into the most melodious concatenation of syllables,' and the lines implicated so as to 'evolve in progression,' carrying the

mind onward to the close. These felicities of language, in both the sound and significance of the words employed, are felt even by the vulgar who have minds and ears; felt, though not understood by them. But what is stranger, they are as little understood by many who set up for poets, and others who pass for critics. It has even been mistaken for a proof of genius, to despise that art by which genius works, and to regard as a thing of no importance, that the instrument should be tuned which the poet has to make vocal. Poetry, in the present day, is written so exclusively for the eye, that the picturesque in language alone is studied, to the utter disregard of what is harmonious. There are, indeed, noble exceptions. Campbell's poetry is always melody; so is Montgomery's. Wordsworth's sonnets are generally perfect in modu-Moore's versification is often, but not always musical. Mrs. Hemans astonishes us by the exquisite melody of some of her compositions, contrasted with the harshness and carelessness of her versification on other occasions. Of some other writers who have attained popularity, it may be questioned whether they ever read aloud their own poetry, or whether, if they have done so, they have an ear. Such poetry, wanting the most essential charm of verse, cannot be permanent, although it is not perceived why it will not be so. That which pleases the fancy through the eye, may please the many for a time; but that which delights the ear, will alone be cherished by the memory, and endure the test of perpetual repetition.

Poetry is a subject that would be better understood, did not every one suppose himself to be already fully acquainted with it, when he has read an art of poetry, and acquired the knack of rhyming. These Lectures will render a useful service to literature. if they but lessen the confidence of polite ignorance, and produce the conviction, that Poetry is indeed neither a mere pastime, nor a mechanical production, nor a superficial exercise of the faculties, but 'the short-hand of thought,' the hieroglyphic of feeling,-that to language which music is to sound, and sunshine to light,—the most excellent of the fine arts, the interpreter of nature, and the handmaid to devotion. All this, he who enters into the spirit of these Lectures will feel it to be. The genius of the Poet could alone have inspired and directed the taste of the critic; and no intelligent reader can rise from the perusal without catching in some degree the reflection of the enthusiasm which lights up its pages. We have sometimes felt occasion to differ from Mr. Montgomery in opinion, though to no one, in his own walk of criticism, should we so willingly defer as an authority; but his criticisms are always worth attending to, and the entire volume will to the genuine lovers of poetry be replete alike with instruction and delight.

We have remarked that the present times are unfavourable to the production or the success of poetry. Literature has, like the vegetable world, its seasons; and different species have their especial times for putting forth their fullest luxuriance, or their bearing years. The present is the period of diffusion, of growth, not of elaboration. The trees of the garden are making wood, rather than bearing fruit. But let us not mistake these alternations for decline or decay. When the feverish excitement of the present times has subsided, when men have leisure to reflect and to feel, when the knowledge that is making has ripened into wisdom, when the provision for the necessaries of life shall not swallow up the means of obtaining its intellectual luxuries, and other books shall find a sale than those which may be regarded as either tools or toys,—then Poetry shall resume its influence, and the revived demand will not fail to originate a fresh supply. In the mean time, new materials for the sublimest poetry are being accumulated in the records of the past and the ever widening prospects of the future. Hitherto, the former has been the chief fount of poetic inspiration; but, to a devout and ardent spirit, there is a never failing spring of elevated feeling that the world knows not of, in the aspirations of hope, in the destinies of human nature, in the glorious things of promise and prophecy, and in the world to come.

Art. II. Taxation, Revenue, Expenditure, Power, Statistics, and Debt of the whole British Empire; their Origin, Progress, and present State. With an Estimate of the Capital and Resources of the Empire, and a practical Plan for applying them to the Liquidation of the National Debt. The whole founded on, and illustrated by, Official Tables and Authentic Documents. By Pablo Pebrer, Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies, 8vo., pp. xx., 548. Price 18s. London, 1833.

HIS is a very extraordinary volume; extraordinary for the immense labour that must have been bestowed in collecting and arranging the multifarious details which compose the surprising mass of statistical information, and more especially as the work of a foreigner. It is no unusual thing, indeed, for Englishmen to be indebted to foreign writers for the best account of their own history and institutions. Rapin, De Lolme, Dupin, Cottu, and Cesar Moreau have, in this respect, laid them under the deepest obligations; and of the invaluable labours of the last of these, Mr. Pebrer has availed himself in the present work. Still, that our learned Spaniard should have so successfully surmounted the peculiar disadvantages and difficulties with which he has had to contend, writing, as well as prosecuting his researches, in a language not his own, is truly surprising. 'Sensible,' he remarks, 'of the little weight attached to foreign authorities, in ' matters of national interest and internal economy, great care ' has been taken to select native authors, and great exertions 'employed in consulting national authorities.'

A considerable number of historical works have been perused; the best writers on the National Debt, Taxation, Public Revenue and Expenditure (among whom Sir J. Sinclair ranks pre-eminent) have been examined and compared; parliamentary records and official accounts have been checked and collated; and it may be safely asserted, that few facts are stated, which do not rest upon the most approved domestic authority and the most authentic documents. Should any discrepancies be found in the Official Tables, they must be attributed to the mystified, confused, and complicated manner in which the public accounts are kept: they have been selected and compiled with considerable labour and research from hundreds of folio volumes; and the Author takes this opportunity of thanking the gentlemen of the British Museum for their great trouble, and for their kindness in occasionally allowing him the use of a private room.' p. xi.

Not without reason, Mr. Pebrer complains of the superficial and imperfect manner in which the subject of the wealth and resources of the British Empire has been treated by the few national writers who have attempted it. In the few tables which he has taken from Colquhoun, the correction of the numerous and unaccountable errors with which they abounded, has, he states, been more tedious and troublesome than the construction of new ones. The object of the present work is no other than 'to place before the British Legislature, at one view, the whole 'statistical and financial economy of the British Empire in all its 'ramifications;' and some general idea of the magnitude and difficulty of the undertaking will be obtained from a view of the table of Contents.

Part I. Origin, Progress, and Present State of Taxation, Revenue, and Expenditure. First Period. From the earliest times to the end of the reign of Queen Mary. Second Period. From the Accession of Elizabeth to the Revolution in 1688. Third Period. From the beginning of the Reign of William III. to the Peace of Paris in 1815. Fourth Period. From the Peace of Paris to the present Time. Chronological Table of Wars and Treaties. Tables of Revenue, Expenditure, &c.

Part II. ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT AND FUNDING SYSTEM. First Period. From the earliest times to the Accession of George III. Second Period. From the Accession of George III., to the Peace of Paris in 1815. Sketch of the History of the Bank. Sketch of the History of the Stock Exchange. Third Period. From the Peace of Paris to the present time. Tables of the Debt, Bank, and Stock Exchange.

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tish Dependencies in Europe: - and Statistical Table. 5. Capital, &c., &c., of North American Colonies :- and Statistical Table. 6. Capital, &c., &c., of West Indies: - and Statistical Tables. 7. Capital, &c., &c., of British Colonies in the Indian Ocean: -and Statistical Table. 8. Capital, &c., &c., of British Settlements in Africa:-and Statistical Table. 9. Capital, &c., &c., of Settlements in Australia:
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Whatever may be thought of the Author's Plan for the Liquidation of the Debt, which will be explained hereafter, the substantial value of his work does not in the least depend upon the success or failure of his attempt to demonstrate the feasibleness and advantages of the remedy he proposes for that enormous incubus upon the springs of industry; nor upon the entire justness of his views with regard to the disastrous operation of the The fourth part, which is devoted to this subject, extends to but a few pages, while the bulk of the work is occupied with developing the astonishing wealth and resources of the British Empire. That Empire presents, to a philosophic foreigner, a stupendous enigma.

'In contemplating the mighty structure,' says our Author, 'while the reflecting mind is astonished at the solidity of its constituent parts, it is no less surprised at the many and striking evils which are visible at the very foundation of that wonderful fabric, and which seem to pervade its whole frame. The greatest contradictions, the most unaccountable economical paradoxes, the most perplexing anomalies, are met with at every step of the inquiry. There is found an immense excess of capital, the very source of production, causing distress instead of prosperity amongst its owners! An extraordinary excess of labour, the very cause of wealth, producing poverty, ruin, and misery amongst the labourers themselves! A great and powerful empire, where knowledge, invention, and art have multiplied in a boundless manner the means for the enjoyment of life, and for the satisfaction of all its wants, comforts, and luxuries; but where the very perfection of these springs of human and social happiness occasions misfortune, distress, and perpetual agitation amongst the members of that great empire itself! There must, therefore, be some hidden defect in that mighty structure, something wrong in the combination of that wonderful system, or some misdirection of the immense resources of that greatest of empires.' p. v.

There are, as we believe, many things wrong; and a strong presumption lies against the soundness of reasonings which would refer to any single defect, to any one cause, the irregularities and inequalities, and consequent sufferings, which are found coexisting with all this wealth and prosperity. Apart from any such main defect or disturbing force, the very complexity and nicety of the social machinery, the multiplicity of the internal movements, the rapidity and intensity of the action, the delicacy of the operations upon which the continued prosperity of the whole and of each part depends, would almost sufficiently account for all the individual sufferings and distress which occur in such a state of society.

But, whether they can be rightly accounted for or not, they are felt—felt so as sometimes to spread alarm and despondency over the minds of many who are not alarmists by profession, or for sinister purposes. The anomalies above described in the condition of Great Britain, are scarcely more surprising and perplexing to an intelligent foreigner, than the preposterous manner in which her own politicians, ignorant of the immense resources of the empire, croak over the public burdens, and perpetually predict all sorts of ruin. Very few persons in this country have the slightest conception of the means or the capital, the extent or the resources of the empire which engirdles the world, and levies tribute on all nations.

There does not exist,' remarks Mr. Pebrer, 'the record of a nation ever ruling such a number of inhabitants, possessing such vast territories, having such immense colonies, and commanding such extensive dominions all over the world, as England does at the present time. They encircle the globe as it were. From Heligoland to Quebec, from this stronghold to the fortified Malta, from the impregnable Gibraltar to the important Cape of Good Hope, from the military rock of St. Helena to the rich Ceylon,—scarcely can there be found on the surface of the globe a place where a warehouse of British goods does not rear its head, and a squadron is not at all times ready to defend British property.

Thus, English capital is spread over all her dominions, and invested in forwarding the productions of her remote and extensive possessions in all parts of the world. It is true, that a grand political and economical question is often agitated in respect to these colonies; namely, whether England receives a compensation for the large capital employed in these possessions; or whether she derives any commercial advantages from them, which she might not have without them; and, consequently, whether it would not be much more advantageous to the British interests, revenue, and capital, to emancipate them from her rule.

'But leaving these vital questions to the able contending parties, and entertaining an equal regard for both, the author cannot but agree with one of them, that from the very day on which the ada-

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mantine chain above described shall either be broken or abandoned to other powers, the mighty England will begin to cease to be the First of Nations; her influence over the commercial world will be diminished; her proud trident will undoubtedly lose the respect it now commands from all nations. But until that day happens, (and, for the happiness of the human race, may it be retarded for ages!) it must be agreed on all hands, that these possessions not only constitute an integral part of Great Britain, but that their value forms an essential portion of the aggregate capital of the British empire.'

рр. 369—371.

We have never been disposed to depreciate the importance of even the West India Colonies, burdensome as they have been rendered to this country by the bounties and imposts which have been found necessary in order to keep up the sugar monopoly, and to keep down the slaves. But what are those Colonies in comparison with the boundless field of commercial enterprise which our Indian empire presents? The capital invested in the North American Colonies, too, is even greater in proportion than in the West Indies; especially the fixed capital in the shape of public works and buildings; and the progressive annual increase of emigration to these colonies, is raising the aggregate of British capital invested in them, by rapid strides. Besides these, the Cape Colony and Australia are fast rising in wealth and importance. Yet, our all-for-economy men talk of the expediency of getting rid of the colonies as fast as possible; that is, of throwing down the bulwarks of our commerce, as the cheapest means of preserving it, and of destroying the main securities of our maritime ascendancy as a saving to the State! The penny wise and pound foolish principle could not receive a more astounding illustration than in the speculations of some of our financial economists. The productive powers of this country are so gigantic, that, were it not for the debt, in comparison with which all the expenses of Government are inconsiderable, it would seem almost absurd to speak of the country's not affording to keep up its colonial establishments. The following is our Author's estimate of the aggregate of the wealth, capital, and power of Great

'It appears that, according to the moderate calculation adopted in all these estimates, there exists, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a capital, public and private, of 3,679,500,000l.!

^{&#}x27;The greatest part of this enormous capital is beneficially employed in creating substantial property, and in promoting industry and enterprise in the multifarious pursuits and occupations by which the necessaries, the comforts, and the luxuries of life are raised and provided, The most useful and important of these is Agriculture, which raises, in all its branches, annual produce to the value of 246,600,000l.; or fifty-two millions and a half more than the total produce of this

branch in France, considered to be the first agricultural country in Europe. The value of the produce of Mines and Minerals, in the United Kingdom, is 21,400,000l. The produce and profits of the numerous classes engaged in Inland Trade, amount to the large sum of 48,425,000l. And of those important branches to all maritime nations, the Coasting Trade and the Fisheries, the former yields 3,550,000l., and the latter 3,400,000l. The annual gains of all those engaged in Shipping and Foreign Trade, amount to 34,398,059l. The profits of Bankers may be stated at 4,500,000l.; and the income derived from property invested in foreign securities, including the sum annually remitted from India, is estimated at 4,500,000l. Lastly, the capital, labour, and machinery employed in all the numerous and extensive branches of Manufactures, annually raise produce valued at the enormous sum of 148,050,000l.!

Thus, the grand result of the combination of the prodigious capital above stated, with all animate and inanimate power, is the annual creation of produce and property to the amount of 514,823,0591!!

Such are the astonishing effects of the wealth, talent, industry, and intelligence concentrated in this extraordinary country: such is the immense capital, and such are the amazing productive powers of this little isle—this "precious stone set in the silver sea", as the poet calls it. But even his portentous imagination was far from conceiving the power which "that little world"—"that fortress built by nature"—would one day reach: he could not even have fancied that thousands of tons of goods would be conveyed with a speed greater than that of the messenger pigeons of Aleppo and Antwerp: he could not have imagined, that, by the combined aid of steam and capital, the productive powers of each of that "happy breed of men" would be rendered equal to the simple exertions of several hundred individuals!

From all this may be easily concluded how imperfect have been the statements of those who have calculated the productive powers of Great Britain, and compared them with those of France and other countries: this important inquiry and comparison is reserved for another opportunity; while sufficient facts and data are here stated to give the mind of the reader more just and correct ideas of the real productive powers and capital of this country; a country, however, only to be considered as the mighty heart, which diffuses strength and vigour throughout all the limbs of that gigantic body, the British Empire; while they, by a strong and reciprocal motion, return and in-

crease its vitality, action, and power.

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'In the parts more immediately connected with England, and in all her dependencies in Europe, there is supposed to exist a capital of 27,115,094*l*.; and the produce annually raised, is valued at 2,146,198*l*.

The seven important North American possessions, as may be seen by the Table, have a capital of 62,100,466l.; and raise annually produce and property worth 17,620,629l.

The West India Colonies, with a capital of 131,052,424l., raise

every year produce valued at 22,496,672l.

The whole British capital in Africa amounts to only 6,444,3981.; and these settlements, unproductive like the country itself, yield an annual produce of only 1,066,0651.

'To compensate for this, there is in the two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean, a capital of 27,509,781l.; and the value of the produce annually raised is 4,291,332l.

'While the new, but rapidly improving settlements in Australia already possess a capital of 2,685,000l.; and raise produce amounting

to 520,000l.

'It is almost impossible to obtain sufficient data and facts, on which to make a sound calculation of the immense and diversified productions raised in the vast territories of British India; peopled by such numerous races, all differing from ourselves in habits, religion, customs, and manner of living. However, by the help of a multitude of official documents, and such statistical information as could be collected from the numerous works relating to that region, the total capital of the British Empire in India has been estimated at 1,611,077,354l.; and the produce and property annually raised, at 313,200,000l.

Thus, the total aggregate capital existing in all the extent of the British Empire in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, will amount to 5,547,484,517l.; and the aggregate value of all produce and property annually raised and created by the combination of that capital, with all animate and inanimate power, to 876,175,755l.; the total population to 116,969,978; and the total extent of territory to 4,457,598 square miles; with a superior navy of 27,000 men, and a regular standing army of 96,419 men in Europe, and 223,461 men in

India.' pp. 472-476.

A Statistical Table is annexed, from which we take the following calculations.

	Population.	Geog. Sq. Miles.	Pub. and Priv. Prop. *
Great Britain and Ire-	24,271,758	90,948	3,679,500,000
British Dependencies in Europe	247,701	90,948	27,115,094
North Amer. Colonies West Indies	911,229 733,617	1,930,000	
Indian Ocean . (Mauritius and Ceylon)	1,034,736	23,000	27,509,781
Africa	154,046 39,685 89,577,206	91,000 1,496,000 826,650	$\substack{6,444,398\\2,685,000\\1,611,077,354}$
	116,969,978	4,457,598	5,547,484,517

In the above enumeration, neither the kingdom of Hanover nor the Ionian Republic is included. The latter is, to all intents

^{*} These are distinguished in the Table.

and purposes, a dependency of Great Britain, although it is in form an independent State, under the protection of 'the King of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors.' The population is estimated at 208,100 inhabitants. That of the Kingdom of Hanover is about a million and a half. The population of the West Indies is underrated, as is that of the North American Colonies and Australia. India also, including the dependent and tributary States, contains more nearly 120 than 90 millions. We have elsewhere set down the total aggregate in round numbers at 150,000,000, which we believe to be within the truth *. The estimate of the superficial extent of the British empire, which is the same as Balbi's, makes it considerably larger than the Chinese empire, two thirds the extent of the Russian, and almost three times as vast as that of Imperial Rome, which it very far exceeds in populousness. In point of substantial wealth and moral supremacy, the British dominion leaves the boasted empires of antiquity immeasureably behind.

One of the most striking features of the general Statistical Table, is the comparative view it exhibits of the imports and exports, and of the estimated value of the produce annually raised in Great Britain and her respective colonies. We shall merely give

those of the East and West Indies.

		Value of Produce.	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom.
West Indies		22,496,672	9,087,914	5,521,169
Mauritius and	Ceylon	4,291,332	654,666	372,026
East Indies		313,200,000	6,218,284	4,100,264

Thus, it would seem, that while the annual produce of the East Indies is fourteen times that of the West Indies, this country imports only two thirds as much in value from her Indian possessions, that she does from her sugar colonies in the Western hemisphere. If this circumstance may be thought, on the one hand, to prove the importance of the West India trade, it shews at the same time, how much the prosperity of India has been sacrificed to it. Upon the subject of opening the trade to India entirely, Mr. Pebrer has the following remarks.

'Would these beneficial results' (those which have followed the partial opening of the trade to British subjects in 1813) 'continue their progress, if the trade was quite opened to the British nation?—Ought the British to be allowed to settle, buy lands, employ their capital, and act as the subjects of other nations do, in India? Upon the decision of these questions depends the happiness or misfortune, the prosperity or distress, of millions of British European and Indian subjects. It cannot be denied, even by the party who think "that

^{*} See Eclect. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. iv. p. 493.

this measure would be productive of more mischief than good," that the application of British capital, activity, and industry, to Indian agriculture, deficient as it is in every respect, but especially in means, would produce the most wenderful results. The cultivation of sugar, coffee, tobacco, and above all, cotton, might be increased ad infinitum. All men conversant with the manners and feelings of the natives of India agree as to their willing disposition, and the absence of all jealousy towards the Europeans, on these points: all parties allow, that the soil of India, its extent, variety of climate, and fertility, are eminently adapted to the cultivation of these productions. Now, after reflecting how often the production and supply of particular articles has, in a short period, passed from one nation to another,—after remembering how the present of a few Merino sheep, injudiciously made by the King of Spain to the King of Saxony, threw Spanish wool out of the English market,—and considering how the cultivation of cotton passed from the Spanish colonies to the North Americans, and how the Spanish American indigo was superseded by its immense production in India, and this by a very limited number of industrious British individuals, and in a very short space of time, -one is really at a loss to see why the same results should not ensue with regard to sugar and coffee, and particularly, why tobacco and cotton, which are of easier cultivation, and require less skill than indigo, could not be brought to supersede the two staple exports of North America; thereby saving five millions a year, which we now pay for the last article alone, and imposing, at the same time, a good check upon American tariffs. One cannot but think, that England would derive great advantages by opening her trade to India, and encouraging the investment of capital there; besides increasing the agriculture, industry, commerce, and above all, the shipping, of her own subjects.

pp. 443, 444.

After exposing the mistaken and narrow policy, as well as gross mismanagement of the fiscal administration, which have prevented the greater advancement of India in wealth and prosperity, by impairing the very sources of production,—the Author concludes the Section with expressing his regret, 'that, for the 'sake of the general commerce and intercourse of nations, and 'the happiness of mankind, England does not direct a part of 'her force, a part of her immense power in India, towards 'China.'

^{&#}x27;For the first mercantile nation to suffer one of the best parts of the world, with a territory of 1,372,410 square miles, and a population of 155,000,000, to be almost hermetically closed against the rest; to endure daily insults from an infamous despotical government, one of whose maxims is to despise foreigners and trade, and which does not possess a shade of power capable of facing the mighty combined naval and military superiority of the British, is certainly quite unpardonable and unwarrantable, and utterly unworthy of the British nation.' p. 453.

But let us now look back to the origin and progress of this immense commercial empire. In the reign of William the Conqueror, the public revenue of England was about 400,000l. In the reigns of his successors, it sank as low as 100,000l. Henry VII. raised it again to 400,000%; and his son, by means sufficiently notorious, doubled it. In the reign of Charles I., it had risen to nearly 900,000l. In that of James II., it was upwards of two millions. At the accession of George I., it was 6,762,643l. In 1760, when George III., acceded to the throne, it was 15,372,9711. During his reign, it was raised by the extreme pressure of taxation as high as 77 millions; and the total expenditure in the same year (1816), including the sinking fund of 13,500,000l., reached the enormous amount of 130,305,958l. In 1794, the total expenditure was under 23,000,000l. In some recent years, the excise has produced more than all the revenue of France; the customs, in the last year, yielded more than the united revenues of Russia and Holland; the stamps, only a million less than all the public income of Prussia; and the land and assessed taxes, a sum equal to the income of Spain! From such humble beginnings has the public revenue of this country been augmented to its present oppressive magnitude. 'The first grant in money, amounting to 50,000l., was voted by Parliament for the expedition of Poictiers; while for those (contests) which 'ended at Waterloo, above 700 millions were granted!' how granted? By drafts upon Posterity and Co., to that amount; in other words, by the creation of the National Debt.

The amount of a public revenue derived from taxation, is a criterion of national wealth, so far as that taxation indicates the extent of its foreign commerce and the consumption of articles of luxury, and provided that it does not press upon the springs of industry. But, pushed to excess, it obviously becomes a symptom of distress, instead of a sign of wealth. No other country in the world could have sustained the burdens which the lavish expenditure occasioned by impolitic and destructive wars have entailed upon Great Britain; and the amount of taxation indicates, therefore, the extraordinary resources of the nation, and the astonishing elasticity of public credit. But, although its Government's being able to raise so much larger a revenue than that of any other country, is a proof of the national wealth, that wealth would obviously be greater, if the taxation were reduced, and the

public revenue lessened by one half.

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The average revenue produced by taxation in the three years ending in 1832, was about 54 millions; of which 28 millions (nearly one half) are applied to the interest of the debt. The expenditure required by the standing military and naval force, is about 15 millions; for courts of justice, &c., less than one million; civil government and diplomacy, under 2 millions; bounties,

public works, and miscellaneous services, 3 millions and a half; expenses of collection, 3 millions. But for the sum required to meet the charges of the debt, the total civil expenditure of the State would not be much above 8 millions, including the expense of collection; and the army and navy might be safely reduced, should peace continue, and West India slavery be abolished, to, perhaps, 12 millions. A revenue of 20 millions, therefore, would be adequate to meet all the natural demands upon the public

treasury.

In what mode is this income raised? The customs and excise have of late years amounted to between 35 and 40 millions; the stamp duties to 7 millions; the assessed and land taxes to rather more than 5 millions; the post office and other small revenues to 3 millions. Were there no debt, the land-tax, postoffice, and miscellaneous revenues would cover half the civil expenditure; leaving only about 16 millions to be raised by customs and excise, instead of 35 or 40, if all the stamp duties and assessed taxes were repealed. The latter, with nearly two thirds of the customs and excise, are swallowed up by the interest of the national mortgage. Now of this immense sum of 40 millions, nearly the whole is levied upon the consumption of the necessaries of life; upon food, coals, malt, sugar, dress, household articles, raw produce, and the raw materials of manufactures. The injurious consequences of this excessive pressure of taxation are strongly depicted by Mr. Pebrer.

'By such taxes the productive classes of the state are overloaded; the poorer people, with less means, contribute a greater share than the wealthy. But this is not the worst: by such measures the primary source of produce, labour, is injured; the elements influencing wages, as food, household expenses, &c. are raised; and consequently those elements, into which all manufactures are resolved, must be elevated in proportion. Manufactures increasing in price, sales must diminish in the same ratio; and, to increase the evil, we possess no control over foreign improvements, and our home markets are extremely limited, in proportion to our daily increasing productive powers.

But it is contended, that "this mode of taxation, being circuitous and indirect, does not produce the baneful effects on manufactures which are imagined." This doctrine, as will be presently shewn, ruined a great manufacturing nation; but to exhibit its fallacy and absurdity at once, let us suppose a direct tax of five shillings a yard imposed upon cloth—undoubtedly cloth would not meet with buyers in the foreign market: but the result must be the same, if the yard of cloth become five shillings dearer in consequence of the high rate of wages and the high price of the materials constituting it. To expect any

other result is a manifest absurdity.

'But if labour is affected by these imposts acting directly upon it, how much more will it be crippled, when, to that pressure, is added the combination of a host of indirect taxes? For when labour is thus

greatly depressed, the other two sources of production being intimately connected with it, and possessing a reciprocal action amongst themselves, must be exceedingly injured. Capital, that agent of production, whose only country is "higher interest", will be affected first: not being able to obtain an adequate interest, it must flow to more beneficial channels, it must abandon this country for a more favourable region, or it must lie idle. Ricardo himself, struggling to maintain that the high prices of commodities occasioned by taxation are no disadvantage to this country, could not resist the evidence of truth; for he adds, that "the interest of the contributors is, to withdraw their shoulders from the burden, and to remove themselves and their capital from the country". A loss of population, then, as well as of capital, will be the result; while, by this twofold combination, land, the third source of production, will be more seriously and effectively injured. But these baneful effects will be more considerably felt in a country of limited extent like England, where, while the population is increasing, the fertility of the soil is rapidly decreasing, and for that very reason requires lower wages and an increased capital. The greatest pressure, therefore, will fall upon the land. Thus, by a chain of evils so intimately connected, the three principal springs of production will be injured, and the wealth accumulated by centuries of industry will disappear in a short period. Such has actually been the awful but uninterrupted march, even in nations which possessed a more extensive and more fertile soil, and were far from being in the artificial situation in which England is at present placed.' pp. 482-484.

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The amount raised by Government taxes, it must be recollected, forms but a part of the national burdens. The poor-rates amount to upwards of 8 millions; besides which, there are other local imposts and the church-rate. It is calculated, however, that nearly one third of the poor-rates is employed to pay wages; and a very large proportion is consumed in law charges. By a proper administration of the fund and a better law of settlement, the rate might be reduced at least one half. Mr. Pebrer proceeds to remark, that the pressure of the present amount of taxation has been greatly increased by the fall of prices since the Restriction This is true; but when he adds, upon the authority of ' many well-informed writers' whom he does not name, that every 11. levied in taxation, followed through all the successive stages and chain of operations, becomes a burden upon the public of thrice or even six times that amount, pressing with that accumulated weight upon the sources of production, we must think, that he lays himself open to the charge of exaggeration. At all events, the theory does not materially affect the general argument. The pressure of taxation, the Author seems to forget, depends not simply upon the amount raised, but upon the proportion which that amount bears to the productive powers and the consumption of the country,-upon the equality with which that pressure is distributed, so as to prevent its weight from in-VOL. X .- N.S.

juriously crippling any particular species of production,—and upon the degree in which taxation enters, as an element of price, into the cost of necessaries. When Mr. Pebrer states, that it was a pressure much inferior to that of the present amount of taxation in this country, which occasioned the downfal of those once flourishing commercial and manufacturing nations, Spain and Holland, he assumes that which he has to prove. In short, we cannot but think, that he greatly overrates the prejudicial effects of taxation; while he overlooks the fact, that a corn-law, so far as it tends to raise the price of the first necessary of life, and consequently to affect every other, must have all the injurious con-

sequences which he ascribes to excessive taxation.

But we are touching upon points which do not fairly come within our notice at present. Without denying, what it would be absurd to deny, that the country generally would be greatly relieved and benefited by a remission of taxes, or a diminution of the public burdens, we can by no means think that the public revenues of England are carried to the utmost height of which they There would seem to are capable without destroying industry. be some truth in Mirabeau's remark, 'that there is an uncertainty in every thing which concerns taxation, which is too dark for 'the acutest genius to clear up.' * He goes too far in denying that any instance can be produced of a people ruined by taxes. Yet, it would be difficult to prove that taxation ever proved ruinous by its simple amount. Bad fiscal laws, partial and oppressive imposts, and, more than all, financial embarrassments, have been the true cause of the calamities that have shaken states to their foundation.

Mr. Pebrer will be thought to have made an important concession, when, in defending his plan for paying off 500,000,000l. of the national debt by a general assessment of 9s. 4d. per cent. upon all the private property and capital in the empire, he thus meets the objection, 'Why not pay off the whole?'

'A very small National Debt is not injurious to a great nation: it places her in a situation to borrow, should she require it, cheaper and with better credit. A small debt can affect the primary sources of production but lightly....In a country like Great Britain, where charitable institutions, corporations, benefit societies, schools, &c., &c., are so numerous, and the amount of property litigated is so immense, a place of deposit for their funds, legacies, &c., is absolutely necessary; more especially in the present constitution of society.' pp. 532—3.

The present funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1832, 782,667,234/. At the commencement of the French Revolutionary war, it was only 233,733,609/. So that the whole sum (and more than that) which it is now deemed necessary to get rid

Ecl. Rev., Jan. 1833, p. 75.

of, to save the country from ruin, has been added to the National Debt, chiefly by Mr. Pitt, 'the heaven-born minister,' since 1790. The American war, the most iniquitous and most expensive in which this country was ever involved by the obstinacy of the monarch and the folly of his ministers, had previously added to the debt in seven years, 102,541,819l. The whole increase of the debt during the reign of George III., was upwards of 700,000,000l.! The following is the state of the debt at different periods.

	Principal.	Interest.
Debt at the Revolution of 1688	664,263	39,855
accession of George II	59 009 995	2,217,551
the conclusion of the Peace of 1762	146,682,844	4,840,821
the Peace of Amiens in 18	802 528,839,277 16864,822,441	20,428,488 41,225,25 7

The facility with which this debt was so rapidly created, is one of the most remarkable facts in history; and scarcely less remarkable than the fact, is the machinery which the loan system has called into play and raised to its present importance. The principal instruments in raising this enormous sum were, the Bank and the Stock Exchange. Of these two great rival corporations, Mr. Pebrer has introduced a brief historical notice. The history of the Bank is generally known; but that of the other engine of the National Debt is shrouded in greater obscurity. It was about the year 1700, that the Stock Exchange folk, becoming too numerous, and encumbering too much the Bank offices, were compelled to choose a larger place for their meetings, and transferred 'the centre of jobbing to the kingdom of Change Alley.' Notwithstanding the attacks made upon the corporation, and the various acts passed to check its operations, the frequenters of the Stock Exchange continually increased in number: but 'this 'powerful engine remained in a humble state, till the immense operations of the Government and the Bank in 1802 required a proportionably greater support. Forty-nine millions were bor-'rowed in that extraordinary year.

^{&#}x27;It was already high time that the submissive but powerful supporters of operations of such magnitude and importance, should leave that obscure place, and get rid of such clumsy and wretched arrangements. Accordingly, in this very year, the leading men came forward, entered into a subscription, and erected the present building of the Stock Exchange; appointed trustees and managers, and a select committee of thirty; and formed a regular corporation and monopoly. They declared, "that the Committee for general purposes shall admit such persons (whether proprietors or not) as they shall think proper, to attend or frequent the Stock Exchange, for transacting therein the business of a stock broker or jobber, &c., at the price which, for the

time being, shall have been fixed by the trustees and managers for such admission." (Deed of settlement, sec. 37.) And, following the charter of the Bank in all its bearings, they appointed officers, &c.; using the word chairman instead of governor; deputy chairman instead of deputy governor; and, instead of direction, committee for general purposes, of whom "seven are to be a quorum, and to have the sole management, regulation, and direction of the concerns of the undertaking, except the treasurership thereof, and the management and direction of the buildings." (Deed of settlement, sec. 9.) "The chairman shall have a casting vote" (sec. 11): and "the secretary shall hold his office during the pleasure of the committee." It is true, the chairman and deputy chairman do not take the oath after their election, that the governor and deputy governor of the Bank do, in virtue of which they "do promise and swear, that they will do the utmost in their power, and by all lawful ways and means endeavour, to support and maintain the body politic and fellowship of the government and company of the Bank of England (Stock Exchange!) and the liberties and privileges thereof, and that in the execution of the said office, they will faithfully and honestly demean themselves, according to the best of their skill and understanding, so help them God" (see the original charter of the Bank); but this corporation is invested with the power of enacting "Rules, Orders, and Bye-Laws," more imperative, strong, and exclusive, than those of the Bank itself.'

'The ceremonial performed at the installation of a chevalier of the Order of the Garter, or even of the Golden Fleece, is certainly not more impressive, nor the act of the accolade itself so awful, as the

admission of a member to the Stock Exchange.

'But however laughable and ridiculous all this may appear to unreflecting minds, it is by this means, by "the deed of settlement," and by its "regulations and bye-laws," that the Stock Exchange has become a more politic, exclusive, and corporate body, than the Bank of England, without incurring the expense of a charter, or the odium of possessing one. Its power, consequently, received a greater impulse; and in spite of public opinion, and the disgraceful conduct of some of its members, the Government began to treat that body with some little consideration: they even ventured to mention the Stock Exchange in the House of Commons with a certain degree of respect; the commissioner for the reduction of the national debt was sent into the house of the Stock Exchange; and the Bank, the moment they received an order to enter into any financial operation with the Government, sent a message to that corporation, giving the full particulars of it.

'How much this body politic, after it received its organization, aided the operations of the Bank, combined with those of the Government, is shewn by the immense debt annually created from 1802 till the peace of Paris. The facts speak for themselves. The activity, the exertions, the contrivances, the allurements, displayed by its 700 members towards all classes of society, to induce them to part with their money, can only be judged of by the magnitude of the operations, and the success which attended them. They evidently prevailed in falsifying that elegant verse of Juvenal, "—quando major avarities

patuit sinus?" for in those epochs that passion was still more largely excited.

' The power of the corporation at the peace, therefore, was very considerable: but the operations of the Government and the Bank having comparatively ceased since that period, the power of that body might naturally be expected to have decreased also. This however was not the case. An immense and boundless field was opened to the establishment, by the new system of rentes and borrowing adopted by the continental powers. Members of the Stock Exchange who had never before travelled further than from their lodgings to Sweeting's Alley or the new 'House,' ran, with perfect ease, the extraordinary distances from London to Paris, and from Petersburgh to Madrid. The French rentes, and Russian, Prussian, Austrian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Poyais bonds, were as easily sold in London, as consols or omnium before the peace. Their security, stability, and the certain payment of the dividends, were most positively assured and guaranteed, by the most clever and influential members. John Bull was led to believe, that M'Gregor's faith was as good as the Bank of England, and that Great Britain was nothing compared to the unbounded and productive territory of the "kingdom of mosquitos." It is not surprising that, with such assurances, the most cautious of the John Bull tribe preferred the large annual interest of the Cacique, to the small one which the British funds yield. Thus the enormous sum of 72,694,5711. was borrowed by foreign powers, in the incredibly short period of seven years (1822 to 1829), through the agency and influence of this powerful body!!'

By these simple and unobtrusive measures has the power of this corporation reached its present height. Its members have not only become the exclusive masters of the British market, but have acquired the immense power of directly controlling and regulating the funds and money markets of all Europe. No financial operation whatever can be safely undertaken in any of those markets, without consulting and obtaining the approbation of the "Committee of the Stock Exchange." The agents of the Bank of England have surpassed their principals: they really possess far greater power than their masters. A mere decision of a committee composed of individuals unknown beyond their own immediate circle, is more powerful, and will produce more effects in regard to any loan or financial measure, than all the laws of the sovereigns of Europe put together. Facts have, in several instances, demonstrated the truth of this assertion; and woe to the plans of Russian, Prussian, Austrian, or French ministers, unless they take proper measures to combine with the influential men of the English Stock Exchange. The unaccountable awkwardness of the Spanish ministers in neglecting this necessary precaution, has rendered the credit of Spain the lowest in the world: her funds are twentyeight per cent. lower than those of the Pope himself! Those who are at present confidently asserting, that Don Miguel will be confirmed on the throne of Portugal by the produce of a loan raised here, or in any market in Europe, are but little acquainted with the construction, machinery, and influence of the London Stock Exchange. They ought to remember, that the loan of Don Pedro was, in the first instance, rejected; and that the emperor might be still under the refreshing shades of the orange-trees of the Azores, had not another party, either forming a part of the committee, or enjoying its special favour, brought forward and contracted that very loan (or a similar

one) which had been so solemnly disapproved.

But the power of the Stock Exchange is not limited to Europe: the New World has experienced its wonderful effects. The boundless Pampas, the colossal Cimborazo, and the deepest caverns of Guanaxuato, have equally felt the effects of its magical power: the armies of Bolivar, San Martin, and O'Higgins, were clothed, armed, and accoutred by its exertions; and to it the Spanish Americans are indebted both for their independence and their perpetual anarchy. It is unquestionably true that, without its interference, without its unremitting toils and efforts, England never would have sent to those remote and wild regions, upwards of twenty-three millions and a half sterling, exclusive of the large sums sent on account of the mining companies.

'The importance of the Stock Exchange has somewhat declined since the failure of its gigantic operations on the other side of the Atlantic; and since the immense losses sustained by the public on that occasion, it has been less attended; the number of its members being reduced, at one time, as low as 400: at present, their number is about It is worthy of remark, that, during all their vicissitudes, the Israelite nation has maintained its original ascendancy in this branch *; and that very few (comparatively speaking) of that calumniated people have dishonoured their engagements. But the Stock Exchange still preserves its immense power without any essential diminution, and its engrossing monopoly without the least encroachment. The contrivers and managers of this association, infinitely superior in skill and jesuitical combination to those of the Bank itself, have secured the enjoyment of all the extensive privileges of a political corporate monopoly, without contributing in the least towards the expenses of the state for these (in reality) exclusive advantages.' pp. 215—226.

By such means has a power been created, which governs all the commercial movements and transactions of the world. The abundance or scarcity of the precious metals is admitted to be the ultimate regulator of those operations; and the greater part of the produce of the American mines, arriving in this country, passes through the Bank of England.

^{*} Many of the Jews of Amsterdam, 'following the customs of their ancestors towards the Moorish and Spanish kings, accompanied the army of King William when he came to this country'....' The great and wealthy Jew, Medina, was to be seen accompanying the great English hero, Marlborough in his campaigns; alluring his avarice and bribing his partiality with a pension of 6000l. a year. This great monied man of the time was to be seen getting thousands on the Stock Exchange, by sending quicker advices of the battles of Ramilies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Blenheim; just as has been effected in our time, by early intelligence of those of Talavera, Salamanca, Victoria, and Waterloo.' (pp. 212—213.)

Thus, an enormous deposit of precious metals is formed, and eventually becomes at the disposal of the Bank directors: they may, at their pleasure, open or shut the flood-gates of this immense reservoir. There is an extraordinary person, who, in less than five weeks, will draw from it and spread over the world 885,000l.! (Table XV. Part II.)—a sum equal to the fourth part of the annual produce of all the American mines. Rothschild—that wonderful man, whose individual financial operations are unprecedented, and whose power is unknown even to himself, entirely confirms this assertion, when in his straightforward evidence he says, that "not only all the gold and silver of the world will tend to come here, but that all the mercantile transactions of the globe are balanced in this emporium."

Thus it evidently appears, that the power of this establishment extends, not only over the government and over all the mercantile transactions of the globe, but even to all the foundations of society itself. Whether this colossal power should be contained in the hands of twenty-four private individuals, is the most important of all questions; a question affecting the interests of the whole world; but a question out of the pale of this inquiry. Indeed, it would be presumptuous for an individual to attempt the decision of such a point, when one of the most enlightened committees, after having put 5978 questions to, and elicited an equal number of answers from, twenty-four practical and clever men, solemnly declared, that "it was not justified in giving a decided opinion." pp. 197—8.

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Mr. Pebrer unequivocally charged upon the Bank, in a pamphlet published in 1826, the occasioning of the mercantile distress and panic of the preceding year; and he now adduces the testimony of Mr. Rothschild before the Committee on the Bank Charter, as justifying his representation. By what means the recurrence of such fatal mismanagement can be effectually guarded against, forms the most important problem that can occupy public attention. No other merely political consideration is of equal moment.

But we must hasten to conclude our somewhat desultory notice of the contents of this important volume. The Author concludes his second Part, in which he traces the origin and progress of the National Debt, and the Funding System, with the following remarks.

'It appears, then, that this enormous debt has been chiefly raised by means of the Bank and the Stock Exchange, aided by the delusion of the sinking fund; and that it has been principally expended in wars, most of them undertaken against the true interests of a maritime, manufacturing, and commercial nation like England,—a nation whose happy topographical situation renders her entirely independent of continental broils and quarrels. Its amount has been immensely increased in time of war; while the reductions effected in time of peace have been exceedingly limited. In the first period of peace, of twelve years' duration, ten millions were reduced; in the second, which lasted ten years, only four millions and a half; and in the last and longest, ex-

ceeding fifteen years, the amount of the reduction has been so trifling, that it seems almost incredible. When we consider the very inconsiderable reduction effected during so protracted an interval of peace with all our immense recources and increasing revenue, the most alarming considerations naturally arise for the time to come.' pp. 242—243.

In fact, the more the debt is augmented, the less practicable it becomes to raise a surplus revenue applicable to reducing it, since a larger sum is required to meet the interest upon the debt. But those financiers who raised these immense loans, could never contemplate their being liquidated. Viewing the artificial capital thus created as so much substantial property, and identifying public credit with national wealth, they could never have deemed it desirable that that quasi property should be extinguished, with all its real or supposed benefits. Nor is it the interest of the lender, that it should be repaid. The matter lies then completely at the

option of the borrower.

But is the National Debt a benefit to the country, or is it purely a burden? At first sight, it may seem reasonable to answer this question by putting another: Is it ever deemed an advantage to an individual to be in debt, and to have contracted a debt which he has no prospect of being able to discharge? The debt of an individual cannot, however, present a parallel case. Yet, we could imagine circumstances under which it might turn to a person's advantage to borrow money on similar terms. So long as a capitalist's credit stands high, his borrowing is but the sign of the extension of his transactions. But when it is recollected for what purpose these public loans were raised,—to be lavished in a reckless and mischievous expenditure, to be sunk and dissipated in the destruction of life, to be wasted in subsidies or exploded in gunpowder, one finds it difficult to conceive of a debt thus contracted as being other than pure loss to the country.

For whatever purpose, however, the loans had been raised, it would have come to the same thing if these 800,000,000 had been expended beyond recovery. This whole amount has in fact been sunk: What then is to be set against the loss? It is certain that, since the funding system was commenced, this country has made the most rapid and extraordinary advances in mercantile enterprise, in wealth, and in political ascendancy; and this advance has, it must be admitted, been almost coincident with the augmentation of the Debt. Yet, this fact would not of itself prove the Debt to have ministered to the wealth or prosperity of the country, which may have thus advanced in wealth and prosperity in spite of it. Shall we then ascribe the increased wealth and power of Great Britain to the wars which these loans enabled the Government to carry on? The American war was at all events, from first to last, as unprofitable as it was inglorious. The Continental wars crippled our commerce in some directions, though they extended it in others. Upon the whole, individuals

were enriched, but the nation was impoverished.

The manner in which the loans and the funding system have operated beneficially, appears to us to be this. In the first place, the extraordinary expenditure was unquestionably a stimulus of the most powerful kind to all the powers of production. The temporary demand thus created, led to the most gigantic efforts of industry, and caused an unparalleled spirit of enterprise. In the next place, the funding system by which the capital sunk in the expenditure was replaced, necessarily attracted wealthy capitalists to this country, while it presented the greatest facilities, as well as strong inducements to all classes to economize capital. In this way, again, it has acted as a stimulant to the formation of wealth. Then it has created a monied interest in this country, the most potential in its influence that ever existed, and which has rendered its local seat the magnetic pole of the commercial world. The money market of London governs every other, and its vibrations are felt at the utmost extremities of the social system. Judge of the magnitude of this market from the fact mentioned by the present Writer, that in London alone above eight millions daily, or more than 1550 millions a year, are balanced The monied interest created by the funding system, is, moreover, most important to the country, as the only sufficient counterbalance to an over-grown and rapacious aristocrasy of landed proprietors. But for the funds, those who were unable to obtain land, would have had no way of vesting their savings, but by converting them into trinkets and precious articles of luxury. The national mortgage shared out among the proprietors of stock, who have become indefinitely multiplied by Savings' Banks, has all the beneficial effect of a subdivision of land, in increasing the number of individuals who have an actual stake in the country, without the disadvantages of such subdivision. The fundholders are, virtually, copartners with the landed proprietors, and their interests cannot be essentially opposed; but there is just so much opposition between them as serves to protect the liberties and interests of the people from being trampled upon by the lords of the soil, in the insolence of exorbitant wealth superadded to the pride of a feudal order.

One way of deciding how far the National Debt has had permanently an injurious effect upon the wealth of the country, would be, to ascertain what proportion the present debt bears to the present capital, and to bring it into comparison with the proportion which the original debt in the time of King William bore to the national capital at that period. This would also enable us to judge of its real pressure upon the resources of the country. Had not the prodigious and improvident accumulation of this Debt been attended with some compensation in its indirect effects upon

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productive industry, it seems impossible that it should not long since have fulfilled the ominous predictions, reiterated with increasing vehemence at every fresh step in the accumulation, that the Debt would ruin the country. The very absurdities of those writers who have gone to the extreme of representing "debt and wealth as synonymous", and "the increase of the debt as a true increase of riches", may serve to justify the suspicion that the Debt is not chargeable with all the destructive effects which ultras of the opposite party have ascribed to it.

At the same time, under existing circumstances, the amount of taxation required to meet the interest of the National Debt, has become a serious evil. Something must be done to lighten the pressure of those taxes upon productive industry. There seems but a choice of evils; some plan of liquidation similar to that which is proposed by the present Writer, or the substitution of a property tax for the Assessed Taxes and those

which tend to raise the wages of labour.

Art. III. Anatomical Studies of the Bones and Muscles, from Drawings by the late John Flaxman, Esq., R.A. Engraved by Henry Landseer; with two additional Plates, and explanatory Notes, by William Robertson. Folio. Price 24s. London, 1833.

MR. ROBERTSON must, it should seem, have been marvellously solicitous to figure in the same title-page with Flaxman and Henry Landseer, or he would hardly have ventured to parade himself as their coadjutor, on the strength of some half-dozen indifferently executed lithographs of the skeleton and muscular system; part of which, as we know, and the remainder, as we believe, are taken from sources very easily accessible. The insertion of these 'two additional plates' is, in our view, exceedingly ill-judged, even if they had the advantages of originality and spirited drawing to recommend them, since they interfere with the usefulness of the work in a direction where it would have been of the very highest value. We are old stagers in matters of art, and of course not very specially squeamish in what regards necessary instruction; but we have never yet met with a work on the subject of anatomy in its application to drawing, at once intelligible, scientific, and so scrupulously decorous as to justify a teacher in putting it into the hands of a female pupil. Now the present publication, so far as it is the production of the two able artists to whose skill it owes all its value, exactly answers to that exigency; and the 'additional plate' of the muscles is, to say nothing of its inferiority, so mismanaged, as altogether to destroy this peculiar and important character of Flaxman's sketches. Independently, however, of all other considerations, it was most injudicious to mix up insipid common-places with

the vigorous originalities of the great sculptor.

Always, therefore, discarding these ill-advised interpolations, we cannot say less of this volume, than that it is a most able and useful work, full of accurate knowledge, communicated in precisely that form which is most wanted and most available in The three plates exhibiting the bones of the trunk and thigh, in various positions, upright and foreshortened, have, in the engraving, all the spirit of a drawing: the effect of a penoutline shadowed with Indian-ink, is admirably expressed. remaining plates are imitations of chalk drawing, and, as far as they go, illustrate most effectively the distribution and action of the most important muscles. That the system is not complete, is to be regretted; but the student who has once made himself familiar with the vigorous expression and masterly execution of these excellent studies, will find no further difficulty in his way: his eye and hand and mind will have been too well disciplined, not to feel that everything beyond is made comparatively easy by this unrivalled introduction.

Art. IV. The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology, in a Course of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1832, at the Lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A. By Renn Dickson Hampden, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College. pp. 548. Oxford, 1833.

Colleges", are to be held responsible for all that a Bampton Lecturer may say. Nor, if it or they were so, would the warranty be of any consequence to the public. But it is of some consequence to the public, (that is to say, to the thinking and religious portion of it,) to know what direction theological opinion is taking in our universities, at any moment. In this view, we regard the volume before us as at once significant and auspicious. Of its proper merits we shall say little. The work is creditable to the Author, both on account of the free habit of thinking which it indicates, and of the evidence it affords of his actual familiarity with ancient theological literature; an accomplishment absolutely indispensable to those who would, in a just and philosophic manner, and to good purpose, form an estimate of the present state of religious belief.

Let Mr. Hampden pursue his course; and let the University—how can we doubt that Oxford will respectfully listen to Eclectic reviewers?—let the University appoint, as its next Bampton Lecturer, some member of its body who will carry on the work of calm and fearless inquiry into the soundness of existing modes

of interpreting Scripture. Every thing haply might be anticipated from such commencements. Whatever some of our readers may think or say of us for affirming it, we will affirm, that we would rather see the great and necessary work of a thorough reform of theological science and language put in progress AT Ox-FORD, than in any other centre of opinion that could be named. Nor do we say this with a sinister feeling, as if reform were more needed at Oxford than elsewhere; for we are not sure that such is the fact: nor do we so speak merely (though it is a reason) with a view to the very extensive and important effects that must result to the country at large from an Oxford theological reform; but mainly because, as we fully believe, an ingenuous, comprehensive, and unshackled revision of existing modes of thinking and speaking in matters of religion, if once fairly set a-going, would be conducted in a manner more likely to be permanent, at Oxford, than in any other place.

Without zeal and piety, nothing, it is very true, can be well done in religion:—but vastly more than zeal and piety are indispensably requisite, when the time comes for clearing the ground of absurdities or errors fifteen hundred years old. None but those who accurately and familiarly know what has been, are qualified soundly to amend what is. Besides; a work so great and difficult demands, not merely an assemblage of intellects of a superior order, but of intellects slowly and thoroughly matured by the most arduous processes of education. The Head of the Church has never yet employed (the miraculously endowed Apostles alone excepted, and not all of them,) any other sort of men for bringing about extensive renovations of religious sentiments. We ought, then, to look to such, whenever a work of this

sort seems to be needed.

The now-maturing, if not matured, science of Biblical criticism, and the rising science of Biblical interpretation, on the one hand; and, on the other, a just suspicion or contempt of whatever can boast no better origin that the superstitions of the third century, the controversies of the fourth and fifth, the corruptions of the sixth and seventh, the wrangling follies of the twelfth, or the perturbations and heats of the fifteenth and sixteenth; these together promise to us, in no very ambiguous manner, the attainment of a far purer sense of Scripture than the Church has possessed at any time since the death of the Apostles. Happy age when their attainment shall have been realised; and honoured shall those be whom the Lord shall employ to bring it about!

We cannot here attempt to follow our Author over his ground:
—our intention is little more than to point the book out to our readers. If we did undertake a criticism, we should not fail to find points whereon to hook it. Several of the Lecturer's general

assertions are questionable, or are too vague. In fact, and we readily grant it, this fault it is very difficult to avoid, if one ventures to generalise at all, or to bring things down to the form of philosophical induction, on a field so crammed with incongruities and inconsistencies as is the field of Church history. A man must possess a grasping intellect indeed, who can do this

well, safely, and clearly.

The comparison, for example, which the Author draws, and upon which he lays no little weight, between the Greek and the Latin fathers, though it may be granted to be in a sense, or in some degree just, is surely open to considerable exceptions. The Author himself (we must do him justice) seems to feel this. We would undertake to present a case of exactly opposite appearance, by means of honest quotations, Greek and Latin, from the very Fathers referred to by the Author in his first Lecture. It is quite true, that the Latin Church did acquire an ascendancy over the Greek; and it is true, that the scholastic phase of theology which came down to the Reformers, which the Reformers transmitted, and which we, in its essential features, retain, is to be traced to that ascendancy; and it is highly probable that, if our theology had come down to us immediately from the Greek Church, instead of the Latin, it would have been, in important respects, other than it is. All this may be granted; but it is not certain, or at least not clear to ourselves, that there exists just that sort of difference between Athanasius, the two Gregorys, Basil, and Chrysostom, on the one side, and Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerom, on the other, which Mr. Hampden assumes. We could make it seem, and perhaps more than seem, that (to take only one pair) the writings of Basil* possess as much or more of the character of administrative energy, and as much of the spirit of legislation, as those of Augustine. But questions of this sort are interminable; nor very important.

We see not the exact propriety of Mr. Hampden's reference to the 'Morals' of Gregory the Great, p. 274, which of course he has actually examined. Except on the ground of the unmeaning title it bears, Gregory's prolix commentary on the book of Job, however 'frequently quoted in the scholastic writings,' has no pretensions to the designation of an Ethical treatise, intended or adapted for the purpose of teaching comprehensively the principles of morality:—a book of which the author himself says, 'Illud opus non est populare, et rudibus auditoribus impedimentum magis quam provectum generat'; and which, his biographer

^{*} Whom Nazianzen calls—σχοπῶν ὁ τοῦ κοινοῦ, κηδεμῶν καὶ προστάτης, and this, not of the Cappadocian churches merely, but of the Christian world universally. The same we gather from Basil's own epistles.

tells us, was undertaken with the view of adapting the literal sense of the book of Job to the mysteries of the Gospel. The De Officiis Ministrorum, to which, on the same page, Mr. Hampden refers, was indeed in a sense 'composed after the plan 'of Cicero's Offices'; but it is unlike enough to that piece in substance and style. Indeed, the Bishop of Milan will not venture to adopt a title so profane in its origin, until he has excused it, by first a quibble upon Scripture (Latin Scripture), and then a pun. 'Let us first see whether it be fitting to write de officiis, 'or whether the word is proper only to the schools of philosophy; 'or is indeed found in the sacred records.' Yes, happily it is; for of Zacharias it is said, 'Factum est ut impleti sunt dies or 'FICH ejus!' Was Ambrose accustomed to look to the Greek of the texts he quoted? Then he goes on: 'Nec ratio ipsa abhor-'ret, &c. vel certe, ut ea agas, quæ nulli officiant, prosint om-'nibus.'

We refrain from giving a synopsis of the Lectures before us; because we had rather the book itself should be read. We shall quote a passage or two, pregnant at this moment with special meaning; and offer no comment upon them.

We have seen how Doctrines gradually assume their form, by the successive impressions of controversy. The facts of Scripture remain the same through all ages, under all variations of opinions among men. Not so the theories raised upon them. They have floated on the stream of speculation. One heresiarch after another has proposed his modification. The doctrine, so stated, has obtained more or less currency, according to its coincidence with received notions on other subjects,-according to the influence possessed by its patrons, or their obstinacy against persecution. Nearly the whole of Christendom was, at one time, Arian in profession. At one time, Pelagianism seemed to be the ascendant creed of the Church. In such a state of things, it was impossible for the Scriptural theologian, even if not himself susceptible of the seductive force of a Logical Philosophy, to refrain from mingling in the conflict of argument. Orthodoxy was forced to speak the divine truth in the terms of heretical speculation; if it were only to guard against the novelties which the heretic had introduced. It was the necessity of the case that compelled the orthodox, as themselves freely admit, to employ a phraseology, by which, as experience proves, the naked truth of God has been overborne and obscured.

'Such being the origin of a Dogmatic Theology, it follows, that its proper truth consists in its being a collection of negations; of negations, I mean, of all ideas imported into Religion, beyond the express sanction of Revelation. Supposing that there had been no theories proposed on the truths of Christianity; were the Bible, or rather the divine facts which it reveals, at once ushered into our notice, without our knowing that various wild notions, both concerning God and human nature, had been raised upon the sacred truths; no one, I conceive, would wish to see those facts reduced to the precision and num-

ber of articles, any more than he now thinks of reducing any other history to such a form. We should rather resist any such attempt as futile, if not as profane: or, however judiciously such a selection might be made, we should undoubtedly prefer the living records of the Divine Agency, to the dry and uninteresting abstracts of human compilers and expositors. But, when theoretic views are known to have been held and propagated; when the world has been familiarized to the language of these speculations, and the truth of God is liable to corruption from them; then it is, that forms of exclusion become necessary, and theory must be retorted by theory. This very occasion, however, of the introduction of Theory into Religion, suggests the limitation of it. It must be strictly confined to the exclusion and rejection of all extraneous notions from the subjects of the sacred volumes. Theory, thus regulated, constitutes a true and valuable philosophy,-not of Christianity, properly so called, - but of human Christianity, -of Christianity in the world, as it has been acted on by the force of the human intellect.' pp. 376-378.

And again: -

If this account of the origin and nature of Dogmatic Theology be correct, surely those entirely pervert its nature, who reason on the Terms of doctrines, as if they were the proper ideas belonging to Religion; or who insist on interpretations of expressions, whether as employed by our Reformers, or the primitive believers, in a positive sense; without taking into their view, the existing state of theology and philosophy at the different periods of Christianity. Creeds and Articles, without such previous study, are as if they were written in a strange language. The words, indeed, are signs of ideas to us, but not of those ideas which were presented to the minds of men, when the formularies were written, or when they were adopted by the Church.'

'The force, indeed, of History must always act on a literary age; and an influence is exercised, by former speculators, on the opinions and conduct of their successors. We cannot therefore conclude, that, because the original occasion of Creeds and Articles has ceased, there are actually no existing prejudices of a like kind, kept alive by the tradition of former opinions, to be obviated by the like theoretic statements.

At the same time, we must not suppose, that the same immutability belongs to Articles of Religion, which we ascribe properly to Scripture-facts alone. As records of Opinions, they are essentially variable. It is no impeachment of their truth, to regard them as capable of improvement,—of more perfect adaptation to the existing circumstances of the Church at different periods. As to the difficulty and hazard of any actual alteration, I have nothing to say. I do not presume to say, that alteration is actually required. I am merely addressing myself to the general question, as to the capacity of improvement in Church-Creeds and Articles, with the view of suggesting a right theory of the subject. To deny the essential variableness of such documents, is, to admit an human authority to a parity with the

authority of Inspiration. It is to incur the imputation, which members of the Roman Communion have sometimes brought against the Church of England; that, professing to make the Scriptures the sole Rule of Faith, we have inconsistently adopted another Rule of Faith in the

deference paid to our Articles.

' It is a temptation, indeed, to which the members of any particular communion of Christians are peculiarly exposed—to identify the defence of the formularies of the Communion with the defence of Christianity. It is like securing the fortifications of the city, instead of looking to the strength and discipline of its garrison as the main resource. As belonging to a Communion, we must be able to shew that we have good reason for our preference. And it is enough for this purpose, to prove that our Church is truly Scriptural in its basis, wallking in the footsteps of the Holy Spirit, and drinking of the pure fountain of inspiration. This is the sole proper notion of the infallibility of a Church. For it is an infallibility not its own, but of God present with it. We are not called upon, to defend every particular expression which has been adopted into its formularies. This would be, to make it infallible in itself. It would be to suppose, that a fortress, strong in its internal resources, must fall, because some of its outworks are not impregnable. And we may find indeed at last, that, by such a proceeding, we are tenaciously clinging to means of defence, which the present state of religion and knowledge entirely supersedes: as we might suppose the inhabitant of a castle fortified in feudal times, imagining himself safe amidst his walls, against assaults from modern inventions in the art of war.' pp. 379-383.

We cannot but *vehemently* recommend to the consideration of our clerical readers the following just and enlightened statements. Let but our universities follow up this, which we must assume as a commencement, and brighter days, days of Scriptural splendour, will yet make England glad.

Nor let it be supposed that the speculative Theology into which I have been examining, is a thing of another day—a mere matter of curiosity to the literary or ecclesiastical historian. I should have failed indeed in the present attempt to bring the subject before you, if this should be the impression from it. Scholasticism, indeed, has passed away, as to its actual rude form, in which it appeared in the middle age. But its dominion has endured. In the Church of Rome, indeed, it still holds visible sway; clothed in the purple of spiritual supremacy, and giving the law of Faith to the subject-consciences of men. Those who are at all acquainted with the public documents of that Church, as established by the Council of Trent, or with its controversial writers, will attest the general observation; that it is the metaphysics of the Schools, which form the texture of the Roman Theology, and by which that system is maintained.

But though the sorceries of the Scholastic Theology have been dispelled where the light of Reformation has been received; yet the transformations of religious truth, which they effected, could not at once be reversed by the same effort of improvement. The minds of

men had been trained to think and speak of divine things, in the idiom of Scholasticism. So that, not only the reformer in Philosophy, but the reformer in Religion also, was compelled to use the phraseology of the system which he assailed. Thus, through its technical language, has Scholasticism survived even in Protestant Churches. Clearly, we may trace its operation in the controversies agitated among Protestants about Original Sin, Grace, Regeneration, Predestination; - all which, when strictly considered, are found to resolve themselves into disputes concerning the just limits of certain notions,-into questions of the exactness of proposed definitions. So again, it is not uncommon to find, even among our own theologians, one doctrine insisted on, as necessary to be admitted in order to the reception of another. Original Sin, for instance, is not unfrequently inculcated, as essential to be believed to the fullest extent, in order to an acceptance of the truth of the Atonement: as if the truth of either doctrine were a matter of logical deduction, or dependent on the truth of the other: whereas, in the correct view, each is an ultimate fact in the revealed dispensations of God, resting on its own proper evidence. Once acknowledging, indeed, the reality of the Christian Revelation, we are bound to refer the whole of Human Happiness to the mediation of Christ; though the Scriptures had been entirely silent respecting the fact of the intrinsic sinfulness of man. And conversely; we should have been under an obligation of acting, as feeling ourselves under sin, and naturally incapable of happiness; had the Scriptures simply stated our incapacity and misery, without revealing the mercies of the Atonement.

'The real state of the case then is, that the spirit of Scholasticism

still lives amongst us: that, though we do not acknowledge submission

to its empire, we yet feel its influence.

At the time, indeed, when Luther raised his voice against the corruptions sanctioned by the Roman Church, the complaint was, that the spiritual lessons of Scripture were become a dead letter. There were however, even at that time, men of deep and familiar acquaintance with Scripture, the votaries of an ardent and sincere piety. Their religion, however, was inaccessible to the poor, and the illiterate, and the busy. It was the privilege of the theologian, -of the holy and speculative recluse. The mass of the people indolently, or superstitiously, reposed on the sanctity of their Fathers in religion; and sought their rule of faith and conduct, in devout attendance on the vicarious ministrations of the man of God. In a word, Religion was become a professional thing. None could be truly and properly religious, but those who were versed in the logic and casuistry of a scientific theology. Therefore it was, that Luther so vehemently proclaimed the great doctrine of Justification by Faith alone; setting himself against that divorce of Theology and popular Religion, by which the Gospel had in effect been unevangelized and desecrated. And are there not still traces amongst us, of a separation between the religion of the few and the religion of the many? The delusion, indeed, has passed away in its theoretic form; that true religion can consist in any thing but in holiness of active life, -in an habitual conduct conformed to the example of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the principle of that separation, against which the Reformation was directed, is still seen in that enthusiasm, which, even in these days, loves to diffuse itself in sentimental religion;—which spends the strength of devotion in holy thoughts,—the luxury, like the Scholastic Piety, only of the pure, the cultivated, the sensitive, and the ardent mind. It is now an enthusiasm of the heart, rather than of the intellect. But the principle is still the same. Religion is converted into Theological

Contemplation.

The examination which I have been pursuing, has led me over much entangled ground; from which I can hardly hope to have extricated myself, in a way to satisfy the views, or scruples, of all whom I But the peculiar difficulty of forming just estimates of controversial statements,-and of seizing the shifting lights of philosophical theories, as they have passed over the truths of Revelation, and given to them their various hue,-will obtain for me, I trust, a patient and candid construction of opinions expressed. It would ill become me, indeed, to dogmatize on a subject, in which I am directly engaged in illustrating the injurious effects of Dogmatism in Theology; and especially before an audience, from some of whom I should rather expect the judgment of a point, than endeavour to impose my own opinion. It must be admitted, I think, on the whole, that the Force of Theory has been very considerable in the modification of our Theological language. And I would submit to your reflection, whether that force has been sufficiently allowed for, either in our general profession of Christianity, or in our controversies on particular articles of Doctrine?' pp. 384-389.

Art. V.—Memorials of Felix Neff, the Alpine Pastor. By T. S. Ellerby. 18mo, pp. xxiv. 334. Price 4s. London, 1833.

In of the French Alps,'* we referred to a short biographical account which had previously appeared in the Congregational Magazine, and which, we find, was translated by Mr. Ellerby from a French publication entitled "Le Semeur." Before Mr. Gilly's work was published, Mr. Ellerby had formed the design of collecting materials for a more extended memoir, and had made a rough sketch of the greater part of these pages.' He has been confirmed in the intention to lay them before the public, by what he deems the defective account given in Mr. Gilly's volume, of the early religious history of Neff, and of the very extensive revival of which he was the honoured instrument. We were too well pleased with the memoir itself, and with the candour shewn by his biographer, to be disposed now to find fault

^{*} Eclectic Review, Jan. 1833, Art. II.

with him for any defects or omissions chargeable upon his performance. At the same time, we think that Mr. Ellerby has done well in publishing these Memorials, which, in this cheap form, will find their way to a different circle of readers, and extend still more widely the knowledge and influence of Neff's holy

and heroic example.

In sketching the outline of his life, we remarked, that it would have been interesting to learn more distinctly the means and mental process by which, amid circumstances and associations unfavourable to piety, Neff first became awakened to his own spiritual condition and to the paramount importance of eternal interests. The additional information supplied in the present volume, throws further light upon 'the crisis in his moral history.' It would seem that a conviction of the unsatisfactory nature of earthly pursuits had for some time pressed upon his mind, before his reflections assumed a more decidedly religious character, leading him to institute a deep and solemn investigation into the motives by which he had hitherto been actuated. The result, as we have stated in our former notice, was such as it has never failed to be, when the inquisition has been conducted with equal sincerity; an overwhelming conviction that he had come utterly short of the primary obligations of a creature and the unchangeable requirements of the law of God; and the mental anguish produced by this discovery, was augmented by his ignorance of the evangelical doctrine of peace with God through the blood of his Son.

'He now began to attend occasionally upon the ministry of the Rev. Caesar Malan, but more frequently upon that of the Rev. Messrs. Guers and Gonthier, the joint pastors of the church of "le bourg du Tour." The evangelical labours of M. Gonthier were eminently useful to Neff, and, under the blessing of God, this faithful pastor was made the honoured instrument in the conversion of the youthful soldier. Deep conviction of his guilt and natural alienation from God took possession of his mind. He was led to more serious self-examination; and was constrained to acknowledge that those actions which he had hitherto considered as the best and most meritorious of his life, had originated altogether in selfish motives. Indeed, the more he reflected upon his principles and past conduct, the more was he convinced that he had been pursuing a course of uninterrupted rebellion against his Creator, whose first and fundamental law is—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; and thy neighbour as thyself....

'Neff began to read his Bible with attention and seriousness, and soon recognized the Sacred Writings as alone calculated to make man wise unto salvation. For a short period, he could only view God as his judge. The guilt of a misspent life hovered over him, like a dark and portentous cloud. During this interval of suspense and anguish, he was visited by M. Gonthier, who lent him a small work, entitled "Honey flowing from the Rock," the perusal of which was happily

instrumental in dispelling the gloom which had gathered around his mind, and in giving him clearer views of the attributes of God, and the method of salvation. This excellent little work is chiefly a compilation of useful and important passages of Scripture, accompanied by illustrations. When preaching, he frequently quoted from its pages; and many of its passages solaced his mind when on the bed of death.

Hitherto Neff had lived solely for himself. He was now made the subject of new feelings and desires; and, influenced by love and gratitude to God, he resolved to consecrate the remainder of his life to the solemn and arduous duties of the Christian ministry. A mind constituted like his could not remain inactive. He immediately commenced his career as a preacher of the Gospel; and his first efforts to do good were amongst the destitute and the dying, in the prisons and hospitals of Geneva. In 1818, whilst thus engaged, he was united in church fellowship with the Christians assembling in the new meeting-house, then almost the only religious body in Geneva who glorified the holy name of Jesus, and who unitedly laboured for the general ad-

vancement of his kingdom.

The following year, he procured a discharge from his military duties, a step which gave great satisfaction to his officers, who did not conceal their displeasure at the influence which his peculiar character and religious principles had already effected amongst his comrades. After quitting the army, he entirely devoted himself to the vocation to which he believed himself called, and visited the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, where he had many relations, in whose houses he read and explained the Word of God. His simple and affectionate manner, united with his explanations and illustrations of Scripture history and precept, almost always drawn from the incidents and dangers of his recent campaign, rendered him a welcome guest to every villager. Wherever he went, he imparted a zest for piety and holy exercises; and, at this day, his name is repeated with benedictions by numerous families, who remember, with gratitude, his visits and conversation.

Full of zeal, he devoted himself with unremitting ardour to the eternal interests of his fellow sinners, regardless of the opinion of the world in general, and even of the taunts of his former associates. Often was he seen climbing some of the most rugged rocks of the Jura, to visit a poor shepherd, a native of the valleys of Piedmont, in whom, beneath an exterior rude and unpolished, he had discovered some glimpses of the influence of religion. After his discharge, several months were thus passed in visiting the sick, and disseminating religious instruction. During this period, he read his Bible with the greatest care and solemnity; and even composed a small concordance, in order that he might become more familiar with its sacred contents. Indeed, so sedulously did he apply himself, that in a short time he was able to recite from memory several entire books. The very numerous notes, in his own handwriting, which cover the margins of his Bibles and Testaments, bear ample testimony to his close and diligent investigation. These, and several other books, thus marked, are still preserved by his friends, as precious memorials.' pp. 10-15.

Of the religious communion with which Neff was brought into close connexion, some interesting particulars are given in the present volume. The church of which the Rev. Messrs. Guers and Gonthier were joint pastors, was formed in 1817; but 'some of the materials had existed from the year 1810, and derived their 'origin from the labours of the Moravians or United Brethren.' The different religious parties in Protestant Switzerland and Northern France are thus discriminated, upon the authority of a Continental correspondent.

"First, those ministers and members of the Reformed Church who are neither orthodox in their creed, nor apparently concerned for religion beyond what regards outward appearance. Under this head I would rank Socinians, Arians, and others who have departed from the faith of their forefathers. Secondly, those who are evangelical in sentiment, and pious in their conduct, who still remain within what may be styled the Established Church of France and Switzerland. Of these, I am happy to say, there is a considerable number which is continually increasing. Thirdly, the Separatists or Dissidents; that is, those who have left the Established Church, and formed separate and independent societies. Of this character is the church of the Bourg du Tour, of which Neff was a member, and by which he was sent to England for ordination. There are at present three pastors belonging to this church; Messrs. Guers, Lluchlien, and Empaytaz. In the Pays de Vaud, upwards of twenty such distinct independent societies have sprung up within a very few years. The persons belonging to them are called Dissidents."

To which of these classes did Felix Neff belong? This, although, so far as respects the second and the third, a matter of very little comparative consequence, seems to have been regarded as a point of sufficient importance for discussion. Certainly he did not belong to the first class. Respecting this question, M. Guers writes as follows. You must remember that 'Le Notice' was compiled by very partial persons, who eagerly sought, both amongst his papers, and even in his life, for every word or proceeding which might be construed as opposed à la dissidence (to dissent). The Dissidents of Geneva, but not those who carried matters to extremes, were, however, his bosom friends, and the confidants of his thoughts. In their arms he died."

'In a subsequent part of the same communication, M. Guers pays a tribute of affectionate respect to M. Gonthier, Neff's spiritual father. "Neff was my most dear friend. To me his memory will be eternally precious; and it will be one part of my blessedness to find him in the kingdom of glory, with my dear Gonthier; a man the most apostolic, but the least known, of all those who were concerned in the revival at Geneva."

Neff's own sentiments upon the subject of Dissent were decided, as regards the right of separation; he maintained, both in theory and in practice, the principle of religious liberty; but he did not deem the duty of coming out of even a corrupt church quite

so clear and absolute. He classed, he himself tells us, all exterior forms of discipline among "the rudiments of this world."

"I see", he says, "that the importance frequently attached to these things has almost always been a source of trouble, of division. I see that God indiscriminately pours his spiritual blessings upon true Evangelists, whatever be the form of Church polity to which they belong; and since the Supreme Master attaches no importance to it, I should consider myself very unwise not to imitate him.

" The Church on earth is in the middle of a chaos: the attempt to

draw it forth into day-light would be absurd.

"Further, all that I have just said does not at all prevent my regarding as a source of blessings, a congregation, however small in numbers, of brethren, true believers, organized as nearly as possible upon the model of the primitive churches, and directed in conformity to the principles of the Gospel. But as all this may be done without a separation, strictly so called, without administration of sacraments, without ostensible titles of pastors, deacons, &c., &c., that does not affect any thing that I have said before.

"Every thing is provisional in this world; the Church like every thing else; and for the night we have to pass in it, it is not necessary to build a fortress. A slight tent, a covered waggon, as among pastoral tribes, may more than suffice. Tomorrow, if it please the Lord,

we shall be in the city of God."'

Sentiments similar to these, and highly characteristic of his single-mindedness and catholic spirit, are expressed in a sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 5.; an extract from which is given by Mr. Ellerby as illustrative of Neff's views, and as at the same time affording a specimen of his preaching. We fear that we shall scarcely be able to do justice to the original in our translation.

The temple of Jerusalem was a place particularly honoured with the presence of the Almighty: nothing impure could enter therein. All there were occupied exclusively with the service of God. There, he was praised, adored, blessed; there he gave forth his oracles—diffused his benedictions..... The Church, called a Holy Temple, a spiritual tabernacle, must present all these characters in perfection;—in reality, as the temple did in types and figures. But what Church, taking this word in the usual acceptation, what assemblage of sinful men will present to us this reality, and will appear to us worthy to be called the habitation of God in the spirit—the temple of the living God?'

Where shall we find this divine sanctuary? In the assembly of the first-born and of the thousands of angels in the Jerusalem above. There, a thousand times better than in Sion, God is served, praised, blessed. This heavenly and spiritual sanctuary is formed of the aggregate of holy beings who find their happiness in God. The glory of Jehovah fills it, enlightens it, and is reflected on each of the living stones of which it is formed. His love invites, inflames them. The King of glory dwells in the midst of them, rejoices in their felicity, and takes pleasure in listening to the eternal utterance of their gratitude. Such is the temple which God inhabits, the only one worthy of him. What then must be the various Churches where the gospel

is preached on earth?

When the magnificent temple of Solomon was building, all the stones, all the wood which were brought thither, were so well cut and prepared, that there was heard, says the sacred historian, neither hammer, nor axe, nor any instrument of iron. (I Kings, vi. 7.) But, most assuredly, it was not thus in the quarries of marble, nor at Lebanon, where they were cutting the cedars; any more than at the fierce furnaces between Succoth and Zeredathah, where they were founding brass for the sacred vases. Thus, in Heaven, this majestic sanctuary rises without noise, without effort; all arrive there pure and The Bride of the Lamb has " neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing." But in this impure and darksome world, the obscure quarry from which the great Architect wills to draw some stones for his edifice, what shall we find but work-yards prepared for a day, where all appears in motion and in disorder? What shapeless stones, what refuse, what useless fragments, what objects of a transient usage! How many arrangements purely provisional! How many mercenaries, -aliens, are employed in these quarries, like the workmen of Hiram, and who, like them, shall never enter the sanctuary! What dissensions among even the most faithful workmen! What discussions, what vain conjectures on the subject of the final aim and the plan of the great Architect, which is known to Him alone! Shall we seek in this chaos the true Church, the spiritual temple? Should we wish to compose it from the mass of all these unformed blocks, or solely of those which appear already prepared by the Master? Shall we attempt to unite in one common order all those whom we find prepared in each of the various quarries opened in a thousand places of the earth? Or, not being able to effect this, shall we, at least, exert ourselves to groupe them in different heaps, like those stones already hewn, which are collected to be measured before they are worked upon? Oh! how much wiser is the Master! While we are disputing the pre-eminence of this or that work-yard, and while others are spending their strength for the sake of introducing a perfect order, the Divine Solomon traverses in silence this vast scene of operation, chooses, marks, withdraws, and places in his edifice the materials prepared in the midst of all these, assigning to each piece the place suited to it, and for which he has destined it Such is, my beloved brethren, the grand idea which we must form to ourselves of this heavenly temple, of this spiritual house of God, of this universal Church, alike militant and triumphant, in whose existence we profess our belief in the apostolic symbol. O! how pitiable will now seem the proud pretensions of this or that Church to universality; as also the endless disputes on the succession, the hierarchy, and the discipline, which at all periods, (as even now,) have divided and troubled the faithful. Let us work rather in the quarry wherein we are placed, to prepare the greatest possible number of materials; and above all, let us supplicate the Lord to make of us all, living stones for his Temple. Amen.'

Having left the neighbourhood of Geneva in 1819, Neff spent the whole of the following two years in alternate labours in the Cantons of Vaud and Neufchatel, and in the French portion of the Canton of Berne. 'Throughout this extensive district, he 'established numerous associations for prayer and religious conversation, many of which are still in existence'. The beneficial effect of such associations has been called in question by Mr. Gilly, who, in support of his objections, cites the language of Bishop Heber and the Rev. Thomas Scott. Mr. Ellerby's remarks on this subject claim transcription.

'It may be doubted whether the late amiable ecclesiastical overseer in India was ever placed in such a situation as would enable him to form a just and adequate estimate of social meetings for prayer and mutual improvement in religious knowledge and experience. "In general," says Mr. Scott, "I am apt to think it very difficult for a minister in the Establishment to form and conduct prayer-meetings in such a manner, as that the aggregate good shall not be counterbalanced or overbalanced by positive evil. But men of greater experience and capacity of judging have thought otherwise;" and then he ingenuously confesses, "But I am also, I fear, prejudiced, as the evils which arose from those at Olney induced such an association of ideas in my mind, as probably can never be dissolved."—Life of the Rev. T. Scott, pp. 518 and 519.

'There cannot be a better illustration of the importance of prayermeetings, than the consequences of repressing associations of this kind by the clergyman to whom this most unfortunate letter was addressed, when compared with the state of religion amongst the members of the Establishment in the very next considerable town, where meetings for social prayer have been continued, and where several private houses have for many years been licensed for that purpose.

'There can be no doubt that Olney, at the time here alluded to, presented an extreme case, and such a one as could not, with any sort of justice or propriety, be taken as a fair specimen. Mr. Scott himself, speaking of social, in distinction from public worship, remarks, that it "tends greatly to maintain brotherly love."—Essay on Prayer.' pp. ix—xi.

Such meetings are doubtless subject to abuse, like every other good thing; but the result of our observation would be in entire harmony with the firm conviction expressed by Mr. Ellerby, that 'a numerous and frequent attendance at prayer-meetings is one of the most decisive evidences of religious prosperity' that a Christian society can exhibit; to which we will add, a very principal means of maintaining it.

We do not deem it necessary to go again over the ground travelled in company with Mr. Gilly, interesting as is the scene of Neff's self-denying labours. We shall therefore refer our readers to the volume itself, which, even to those who possess Mr. Gilly's work, will convey much additional information, and

to those who do not, will be a most valuable acquisition. The extracts from Neff's own letters and sermons are particularly interesting. While the Pastor was stretched on his bed of languishing, from which he was never to rise, his friends, who watched by turns, 'aware with what transports of holy delight he listened to the melody of the human voice when attuned to the praises of God,' would frequently retire into an adjoining chamber, where, in a subdued tone, they sang several of his favourite hymns. One of these, Neff's own composition, together with a translation kindly furnished by Mr. Montgomery, we must transcribe.

PARAPHRASE OF PART OF JER. XXXI.

- 'Ne te désoles point, Sion! sèche tes larmes; L'Eternel est ton Dieu, ne sois plus en alarmes; Il te reste un repos dans la terre de paix; Jehova te ramène, et te garde à jamais.
- 'Il te rétablira: même au sein des ruines, La vigne et l'olivier étendront leurs racines; Tout sera relevé, comme dans tes beaux jours, Les murs de tes cités, tes ramparts et tes tours.
- 'Un jour—un jour viendra que tes gardes fidéles, Sur les monts d' Ephraim, crireront aux rebelles : · Retournez en Sion, l'Eternel votre Dieu Vous rapelle—venez, et montons au saint lieu!
- Lève-toi, le Puissant ne t' a point oubliée: D' un amour éternel le Seigneur t' a aimée. Qu'au son de la trompette, assemblés en ce jour, Tes enfans, ô Sion! exaltent son amour!'
- Weep no more, Zion! dry thy streaming tears; The Eternal is thy God—dismiss thy fears; Rest in the land of peace for thee remains; Jehovah leads thee, Israel's strength sustains.
- 'He will restore thee, even as from the dead; The vine and olive o'er thy wrecks shall spread; He will rebuild, as in thy happiest hours, Thy city-walls, thy battlements, and towers.
- 'A day will come, a day when from on high Mount Ephraim's watchmen to the tribes shall cry, "Return, ye rebels! 'tis the Almighty still That calls,—return, and climb his holy hill."

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'Rise, unforgotten of thy Lord above!

He loved thec with an everlasting love.

That love, at trumpet's sound, in joyful throngs,

Thy sons, O Zion! now extol in songs!'

In case of a reprint, we would suggest a greater attention to correct orthography in printing the foreign names, and a few other corrections. 'Re-union' should have been rendered, association or congregation.

Art. VI. Caspar Hauser. An account of an Individual kept in a Dungeon, separated from all Communication with the World, from Early Childhood, to about the Age of Seventeen. Drawn up from Legal Documents. By Anselm Von Feuerbach, President of one of the Bavarian Courts of Appeal, &c. Translated from the German. 12mo, pp. xi. 191. Price 3s. in cloth. London, 1833.

MOST of our readers will have been made acquainted by the public journals with the name of this 'youth without child-hood,' and with the outlines of his melancholy story. The present publication, dedicated to Earl Stanhope, who has taken poor Caspar under his paternal protection, contains an authenticated relation of the circumstances, so far as known, attending his mysterious secretion, his coming into the world, and the gradual development of his rational faculties.

The story of his imprisonment is soon told; and horrible as is the picture which it presents to the imagination, occurrences of similar character and parallel atrocity, which might seem to belong to the darkest ages, are by no means unheard of in Catholic Germany. The account which, after he had slowly acquired the art of intelligible speech, Caspar gave of himself is as follows.

"" He neither knows who he is nor where his home is. It was only at Nuremberg that he came into the world." Here he first learned that, besides himself and 'the man with whom he had always been,' there existed other men and other creatures. As long as he can recollect, he had always lived in a hole (a small low apartment which he sometimes calls a cage), where he had always sat upon the ground, with bare feet, and clothed only with a shirt and a pair of breeches. † In his

An expression which he often uses to designate his exposure in Nuremberg, and his first awakening to the consciousness of mental life.'

t 'According to a more particular account given by Caspar, which is fully confirmed by marks upon his body which cannot be mistaken, by the singular formation of his knee and knee-hollow, and by his peculiar mode of sitting upon the ground with his legs extended, which is possible to himself alone,—he never, even in his sleep, lay with his whole body stretched out, but sat, waking and sleeping, with his back

apartment he never heard a sound, whether produced by a man, by an animal, or by anything else. He never saw the heavens, nor did there ever appear a brightening (day-light) such as at Nuremberg. He never perceived any difference between day and night, and much less did he ever get a sight of the beautiful lights in the heavens. Whenever he awoke from sleep, he found a loaf of bread and a pitcher of water by him. Sometimes this water had a bad taste; whenever this was the case, he could no longer keep his eyes open, but was compelled to fall asleep *; and when he afterwards awoke, he found that he had a clean shirt on, and that his nails had been cut. + He never saw the face of the man who brought him his meat and drink. In his hole he had two wooden horses and several ribbons. With these horses he had always amused himself as long as he was awake; and his only occupation was, to make them run by his side, and to fix or tie the ribbons about them in different positions. Thus, one day had passed as the other; but he had never felt the want of any thing, had never been sick, and-once only excepted-had never felt the sensation of pain. Upon the whole, he had been much happier there than in the world, where he was obliged to suffer so much. How long he had continued to live in this situation he knew not; for he had had no knowledge of time. He knew not when, or how he came there. Nor had he any recollection of ever having been in a different situation, or in any other than in that place. "The man with whom he had always been," never did him any harm. Yet one day, shortly before he was taken away,-when he had been running his horse too hard, and had made too much noise, the man came and struck him upon his arm with a stick, or with a piece of wood; this caused the wound which he brought with him to Nuremberg.

"Pretty nearly about the same time, the man once came into his prison, placed a small table over his feet, and spread something white

supported in an erect posture. Some peculiar property of his place of rest, and some particular contrivance must probably have made it necessary for him to remain constantly in such a position. He is himself unable to give any further information upon this subject.'

* That this water was mixed with opium, may well be supposed; and the certainty that this was really the fact, was fully proved on the following occasion. After he had for some time lived with Professor Daumer, his physician attempted to administer to him a drop of opium in a glass of water. Caspar had scarcely swallowed the first mouthful of this water, when he said: "That water is nasty; it tastes exactly like the water I was sometimes obliged to drink in my cage."

to Hence, as well as from other circumstances, it is evident, that Caspar was, during his incarceration, always treated with a certain degree of careful attention. And this accounts for the attachment which he long retained to the man "with whom he had always been." This attachment ceased only at a very late period; yet never to such a degree as to make him wish that this man should be punished. He wished that those should be punished by whose orders he had been confined; but he said that that man had done him no harm."

upon it, which he now knows to have been paper; he then came behind him, so as not to be seen by him, took hold of his hand, and moved it backwards and forwards on the paper, with a thing (a lead pencil) which he had stuck between his fingers. He (Hauser) was then ignorant of what it was; but he was mightily pleased, when he saw the black figures which began to appear upon the white paper. When he felt that his hand was free, and the man had gone from him, he was so much pleased with this new discovery, that he could never grow tired of drawing these figures repeatedly upon the paper. This occupation almost made him neglect his horses, although he did not know what those characters signified. The man repeated his visits in the same manner several times.*

"Another time the man came again, lifted him from the place where he lay, placed him on his feet, and endeavoured to teach him to stand. This he repeated at several different times. The manner in which he effected this was the following: he seized him firmly around the breast from behind; placed his feet behind Caspar's feet, and lifted these, as in stepping forward.

"Finally, the man appeared once again, placed Caspar's hands over his shoulders, tied them fast, and thus carried him on his back out of the prison. He was carried up (or down) a hill. † He knows

† It is evident, and other circumstances prove it to be a fact, that Caspar could not yet, at that time, distinguish the motion of ascending from that of descending, or height from depth, even as to the impressions made upon his own feelings; and that he was consequently

^{*} Of the fact that Caspar really had had instruction, and, indeed, regular elementary instruction in writing, he gave evident proofs immediately on the first morning after his arrival in Nuremberg. When the prison-keeper Hiltel came to him that morning in the prison, he gave him, in order to employ or to amuse him, a sheet of paper with a lead pencil. Caspar seized eagerly on both, placed the paper upon the bench, and began and continued to write, without intermission, and without ever looking up, or suffering himself to be disturbed by any thing that passed, until he had filled the whole folio sheet, on all four sides, with his writing. The appearance of this sheet, which has been preserved and affixed to the documents furnished by the police, is much the same as if Caspar, who nevertheless wrote from memory, had had a copy lying before him, such as are commonly set before children when they are first taught to write. For the writing upon this sheet consisted of rows of letters, or rows of syllables; so that, almost everywhere, the same letter or the same syllable is constantly repeated. At the bottom of each page, all the letters of the alphabet are also placed together, in the same order in which they actually succeed each other, as is commonly the case in copies given to children: and, in another line, the numerical ciphers are placed, from 1 to 0, in their proper order. On one page of this sheet, the name "Kaspar Hauser" is constantly repeated; and, on the same sheet, the word reider (Renter, rider) frequently occurs: yet this sheet also proves that Caspar had not progressed beyond the first elements of writing.'

not how he felt; all became night, and he was laid upon his back." This "becoming night," as appeared on many different occasions at Nuremberg, signified, in Caspar's language, "to faint away." The account given of the continuation of his journey, is principally confined to the following particulars: " that he had often lain with his face to the ground, in which cases it became night; that he had several times eaten bread and drunk water; that 'the man with whom he had always been, had often taken pains to teach him to walk, which always gave him great pain," &c. This man never spoke to him, except that he continually repeated to him the words, "Reuta wähn," &c. * He (Caspar) never saw the face of the man either on this journey or ever before in prison. Whenever he led him, he directed him to look down upon the ground and at his feet, - an injunction which he always strictly obeyed, partly from fear, and partly because his attention was sufficiently occupied with his own person and the position of his feet. Not long before he was observed at Nuremberg, the man had put the clothes upon him which he then wore.

The putting on of his boots gave him great pain; for the man made him sit on the ground, seized him from behind, drew his feet up, and thus forced them into the boots. They then proceeded onwards still more miserably than before. He neither then, nor ever before, perceived any thing of the objects around him; he neither observed nor saw them; and therefore he could not tell from what part of the country, in what direction, or by which way he came. All that he was conscious of was, that the man who had been leading him put the letter which he had brought with him into his hand, and then vanished; after which, a citizen observed him and took him to the guard-

room at the New-gate.' pp. 52-61.

It was on the afternoon of the 26th of May, 1828, that he was discovered by the citizen referred to, standing alone in a state of helpless stupefaction, and exhibiting the appearance of an untaught savage, rather than of an idiot or a madman. To all inquiries, he would return only a string of words which he had been taught, like a parrot, to utter as the common expression of all his wants and feelings, without attaching to them any definite meaning; but, on having a pen put into his hand, he wrote, to the astonishment of all who were present, in legible characters, the name, Kaspar Hauser. This, too, was a mere mechanical performance.

'The surprise occasioned by Caspar Hauser's first appearance soon settled down into the form of a dark and horrid enigma, to explain

"This jargon seems to imply, "I will be a rider (a trooper) as

my father was."'

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still less able to designate this difference correctly by means of words. What Caspar calls a hill, must, in all probability, have been a pair of stairs. Caspar also thinks he can recollect, that, in being carried, he brushed against something by his side.'

which various conjectures were resorted to. By no means an idiot or a madman, he was so mild, so obedient, and so good-natured, that no one could be tempted to regard this stranger as a savage, or as a child grown up among the wild beasts of the forest. And yet he was so entirely destitute of words and conceptions, he was so totally unacquainted with the most common objects and daily occurrences of nature, and he shewed so great an indifference, nay, such an abhorrence, to all the usual customs, conveniences, and necessaries of life; and at the same time he evinced such extraordinary peculiarities in all the characteristics of his mental, moral, and physical existence; as seemed to leave us no other choice, than either to regard him as the inhabitant of some other planet, miraculously transferred to the earth, or as one who (like the man whom Plato supposes) had been born and bred under ground, and who, now that he had arrived at the age of maturity, had for the first time ascended to the surface of the earth, and beheld the light of the sun.

'Caspar shewed continually the greatest aversion to all kinds of meat and drink, excepting dry bread and water. Without swallowing or even tasting them, the very smell of most kinds of our common food was sufficient to make him shudder, or to affect him still more disagreeably. The least drop of wine, of coffee, or the like, mixed clandestinely with his water, occasioned him cold sweats, or caused him to be seized with vomiting or violent headache.' pp. 24—25.

Not only his mind, but many of his senses appeared at first to be in a state of torpor, and only gradually to open to the perception of external objects. It was not before the lapse of several days that he began to notice the striking of the steeple clock, and the ringing of the bells. This threw him into the greatest astonishment, which at first was expressed only by his listening looks and by certain spasmodic motions of his countenance: but it was soon succeeded by a stare of benumbed meditation. Some weeks afterwards, the nuptial procession of a peasant passed by the tower with a band of music, close under his window. He suddenly stood listening, motionless as a statue; his countenance appeared to be transfigured, and his eyes, as it were, to radiate his ecstasy; his ears and eyes seemed continually to follow the movements of the sounds as they receded more and more; and they had long ceased to be audible, while he still continued immoveably fixed in a listening posture, as if unwilling to lose the last vibrations of these, to him, celestial notes, or as if his soul had followed them, and left its body behind it in torpid insensibility. Certainly not by way of making any very judicious trial of Caspar's musical taste, this being, whose extraordinary nervous excitability was already sufficiently apparent, was once, at a military parade, placed very near to the great regimental drum. He was so powerfully affected by its first sounds, as to be immediately thrown into convulsions, which rendered his instantaneous removal necessary.' pp. 30, 31.

Among the half-dozen words which formed the whole extent of Caspar's vocabulary when first brought into communion with

mankind, was the word Ross! (horse.) This he would often iterate in a plaintive, beseeching tone. At last, it occurred to the police soldiers to bring him a wooden horse; and from the extreme delight which he manifested at seeing it, it appeared that he had found in this toy an old and long-desired playmate. He was soon supplied with several horses, which became his constant amusement. He never ate his bread or drank his water, without applying them to the mouths of his horses, to which he evidently ascribed consciousness. It was subsequently ascertained that, in his infantine soul, ideas of things animate and inanimate were still strangely confounded. He distinguished animals from men only by their form. Even after he had been placed under the kind superintendence of Professor Daumer, it required no little pains and much patience to make him comprehend the difference between objects which are, and those which are not organized, between voluntary motion and motion communicated to dead matter.

' Many things which bore the form of men or animals, though cut in stone, carved in wood, or painted, he would still conceive to be animated, and ascribe to them such qualities as he perceived to exist in other animated beings. It appeared strange to him, that horses, unicorns, ostriches, &c., which were hewn or painted upon the walls of houses in the city, remained always stationary, and did not run away. He expressed his indignation against the statue in the garden belonging to the house in which he lived, because, although it was so dirty, yet it did not wash itself. When, for the first time, he saw the great crucifix on the outside of the church of St. Sebaldus, its view affected him with horror and with pain: and he earnestly entreated, that the man who was so dreadfully tormented might be taken down. Nor could he, for a long time, be pacified, although it was explained to him, that it was not any real man, but only an image, which felt nothing. He conceived every motion that he observed to take place in any object, to be a spontaneous effect of life. If a sheet of paper was blown down by the wind, he thought that it had run away from the table; and, if a child's waggon was rolling down a hill, it was, in his opinion, making an excursion for its own amusement. He supposed that a tree manifested its life by moving its twigs and leaves; and its voice was heard in the rustling of its leaves, when they were moved by the wind. He expressed his indignation against a boy who struck the stem of a tree with a small stick, for giving the tree so much pain. To judge from his expressions, the balls of a ninepin alley ran voluntarily along: they hurt other balls when they struck against them, and when they stopped, it was because they were tired. Professor Daumer endeavoured for a long time, in vain, to convince him that a ball does not move voluntarily. He succeeded, at length, in doing so, by directing Caspar to make a ball himself, from the crumbs of his bread, and afterwards to roll it along. He was convinced that a humming-top, which he had long been spinning, did not move voluntarily, only by finding, that, after frequently winding up the cord, his arm began to hurt him;

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being thus sensibly convinced that he had himself exerted the power which was expended in causing it to move.

'To animals, particularly, he for a long time ascribed the same properties as to men; and he appeared to distinguish the one from the other only by the difference of their external form. He was angry with a cat for taking its food only with its mouth, without ever using its hands for that purpose. He wished to teach it to use its paws, and to sit upright. He spoke to it as to a being like himself, and expressed great indignation at its unwillingness to attend to what he said, and to learn from him. On the contrary, he once highly commended the obedience of a certain dog. Seeing a grey cat, he asked, why she did not wash herself, that she might become white. When he saw oxen lying down on the pavement of the street, he wondered why they did not go home and lie down there. If it was replied that such things could not be expected from animals, because they were unable to act thus, his answer was immediately ready: then they ought to learn it; there were so many things which he also was obliged to learn.

'Still less had he any conception of the origin and growth of any of the organical productions of nature. He always spoke as if all trees had been stuck into the ground; as if all leaves and flowers were the work of human hands. The first materials of an idea of the origin of plants, were furnished him by his planting, according to the directions of his instructor, a few beans, with his own hands, in a flower-pot; and by his afterwards being made to observe, how they germinated and produced leaves, as it were, under his own eye. But, in general, he was accustomed to ask, respecting almost every production of nature, who made that thing?

Of the beauties of nature he had no perception. Nor did nature seem to interest him otherwise than by exciting his curiosity, and by suggesting the question, who made such a thing? When, for the first time, he saw a rainbow, its view appeared for a few moments to give him pleasure. But he soon turned away from it; and he seemed to be much more interested in the question, who made it? than in the beauty of its apparition.

'Yet there was one view which made a remarkable exception from this observation, and which must be regarded as a great and neverto-be-forgotten incident in the gradual development of his mental life. It was in the month of August, 1829, when, on a fine summer evening, his instructor showed him, for the first time, the starry heavens. His astonishment and transport surpassed all description. He could not be satiated with its sight, and was ever returning to gaze upon it; at the same time fixing accurately with his eye the different groupes that were pointed out to him, remarking the stars most distinguished for their brightness, and observing the differences of their respective colour. "That," he exclaimed, "is, indeed, the most beautiful sight that I have ever yet seen in the world. But who has placed all these numerous beautiful candles there? who lights them? who puts them When he was told, that, like the sun, with which he was already acquainted, they always continue to give light, he asked again; who placed them there above, that they may always continue to give

light? At length, standing motionless, with his head bowed down, and his eyes staring, he fell into a train of deep and serious meditation. When he again recovered his recollection, his transport had been succeeded by deep sadness. He sank trembling upon a chair, and asked, why that wicked man had kept him always locked up, and had never shewn him any of these beautiful things. He (Caspar) had never done any harm. He then broke out into a fit of crying, which lasted for a long time, and which could with difficulty be soothed; and said, that "the man with whom he had always been" may now also be locked up for a few days, that he may learn to know how hard it is to be treated so. Before seeing this beautiful celestial display, Caspar had never shewn any thing like indignation against that man; and much less had he ever been willing to hear that he ought to be punished. Only weariness and slumber were able to quiet his sensations; and he did not fall asleep—a thing that had never happened to him before until it was about 11 o'clock. Indeed, it was in Mr. Daumer's family that he began more and more to reflect upon his unhappy fate, and to become painfully sensible of what had been withheld and taken from him. It was only there, that the ideas of family, of relationship, of friendship,—of those human ties that bind parents and children and brothers and sisters to each other, were brought home to his feelings; it was only there, that the names mother, sister, and brother, were rendered intelligible to him, when he saw how mother, sister, and brother were reciprocally united to each other by mutual affection, and by mutual endeavours to make each other happy. He would often ask for an explanation of what is meant by mother, by brother, and by sister; and endeavours were made to satisfy him by appropriate answers. Soon after, he was found sitting in his chair, apparently immersed in deep meditations. When he was asked, what was now again the matter with him? he replied with tears, "he had been thinking about what was the reason, why he had not a mother, a brother and a sister? for it was so very pretty a thing to have them." ' pp. 120-128.

It was by very slow degrees that he attained to the power of coherent speech; but his facility of learning, his dormant intelligence, and his memory were extraordinary. His curiosity and thirst for knowledge also, and the inflexible perseverance with which he fixed his attention on any thing he was determined to learn or comprehend, surpassed every thing that can be conceived of them; and the manner in which they were expressed, was truly affecting. Often would he repeat his lamentation that the people in the world knew so much, and that there were so many things which he had not yet learned. Next to writing, drawing became his favourite occupation, for which he evinced a strong capacity united to equal perseverance. A most surprising and inexplicable property of his mind was his love of order and cleanliness, which he carried to the extreme of nicety. Uncleanliness, or what he considered to be such, whether in his own person or in others, was an abomination to him. The extreme vividness of his sensations, 'the almost preternatural elevation of his VOL. X .- N.S.

senses' was for a long time distressing to him. He was able to see in the dark, but by day, his sight was at first, for want of use, very indistinct; and the gradual manner in which he acquired the proper use of the organs, and the power of judging of magnitudes and distances, resembled that in which apparently infants learn to see, and in which a blind person restored to sight attains to distinct perception. He continued, however, to see much better by twilight. After sunset, he once pointed out a gnat that was hanging in a distant spider's web. When, at the commencement of twilight, a common eye could not distinguish more than three or four stars in the sky, Caspar could already discern different groupes, and distinguish the stars of which they were composed. It has also been proved by experiments carefully made, that, in a perfectly dark night, he could distinguish such colours as blue and green from each other. So acute was his sight that, in anatomizing plants, he noticed subtile distinctions and delicate particles which had escaped the observation of others. Scarcely less acute or finely discriminative was his sense of hearing. But, of all his senses, that which was most troublesome was his smelling. It occasioned him for a long time constant suffering. What to us is scentless, was not so to him; and the most delicate and delightful odours, for instance the rose, inflicted not 'aromatic pain,' but disgust as well as suffering. All kinds of smells were more or less disagreeable to him; but what we call unpleasant, affected him with less aversion than perfumes. The smell of fresh meat, however, he found the most horrible; and in walking near a church-yard, the effluvia, of which his companion was insensible, affected Caspar so powerfully as to produce a shivering fit, succeeded by a violent perspiration. But the most extraordinary of his perceptions was his sensibility of the presence of metals, and his capacity of distinguishing them from each other by his feelings alone. From a great number of facts, the following instances of this singular property are selected.

In the autumn of 1828, he once accidentally went into a store filled with hardware, particularly with brass goods. He had scarcely entered, before he hurried out again, being affected with a violent shuddering, and saying that he felt a drawing in his whole body in all directions.—A stranger who visited him, once slipped a piece of gold of the size of a kreutzer into his hand, without Caspar's being able to see it; he said immediately that he felt gold in his hand.—At a time when Caspar was absent, Professor Daumer placed a gold ring, a steel and brass compass, and a silver drawing pen, under some paper, so that it was impossible for him to see what was concealed under it. Daumer directed him to move his finger over the paper, without touching it; he did so; and by the difference of the sensation and strength of the attraction which these different metals caused him to feel at the points of his fingers, he accurately distinguished them all from each other,

according to their respective matter and form .- Once, when the physician, Dr. Osterhausen, and the royal crown-fiscal, Brunner, from Munchen, happened to be present, Mr. Daumer led Caspar, in order to try him, to a table covered with an oil-cloth, upon which a sheet of paper lay, and desired him to say whether any metal was under it. He moved his finger over it, and then said, "There it draws!" "But, this time," replied Daumer, "you are, nevertheless, mistaken; for (withdrawing the paper) nothing lies under it." Caspar seemed, at first, to be somewhat embarrassed; but he put his finger again to the place where he thought he had felt the drawing, and assured them repeatedly, that he there felt a drawing. The oil-cloth was then removed, a stricter search was made, and a needle was actually found there.—He described the feeling which minerals occasioned him, as a kind of drawing sensation, which passed over him; accompanied, at the same time, with a chill which ascended, accordingly as the objects were different, more or less up the arm; and which was also attended with other distinctive sensations. At the same time, the veins of the hand which had been exposed to the metallic excitation, were visibly Towards the end of December, 1828,—when the morbid excitability of his nerves had been almost removed, -his sensibility of the influence of metallic excitatives, began gradually to disappear, and was, at length, totally lost.' pp. 140-143.

In fact, after he had learned to eat meat, his mental activity, and the quickness of his apprehension, as well as the preternatural acuteness of his sensual perceptions, were considerably lessened, while his physical strength and growth were as rapidly increased.

Another remarkable circumstance was, the apparently instinctive facility with which he became, after a very few lessons, a most dexterous and fearless horseman.

His obedience to all those persons who had acquired paternal authority over him, was unconditional and boundless, but with this remarkable limitation; it had no connexion in his mind with believing. Before he would acknowledge any thing to be certain or true, it was necessary that he should be convinced of it, either by the evidence of his senses, or by some reasoning adapted to his imperfectly developed powers of comprehension. Though in his temper he exhibited a childish kindness and gentleness, he brought with him from his dungeon not the shadow of a religious idea; and the unskilful and injudicious attempts made to impart religious notions to his mind, before his understanding was fitted to embrace them, were entirely fruitless. Professor Daumer at length succeeded in making him infer from his own consciousness, the existence of spirit, and the nature of the Divine Being. Caspar evinced great joy, when these subjects were explained to him, and said, that what was now told him was something real, whereas other people had never told him any thing upon that subject, that was right. In the same way, we apprehend, it must

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have been found easy, in the case of one who had undergone so remarkable and sudden a transition from a life of mere animal existence, the life of an oyster, in the solitude of his dungeon, to the previously inconceivable state of communion with external objects and human society,—to make him infer the possible existence of an upper and invisible world, and to teach him to conceive of the fact, that there are beings from whom we are separated by as thin a partition as that which shut up poor Caspar from the living world. It is gratifying to learn, that 'faith in ' God, and a hope in Providence founded on that faith,' have at length found entrance into a heart that so much needed consolation. He is now, we are told, in the true sense of the word, a pious man. He speaks with devotion of God, and is fond of reading books of rational edification. His intellectual attainments are not now distinguished by any thing very remarkable. He does not discover a spark of fancy or genius. His imagination appears to have been as it were extinguished; but he shews both accuracy and acuteness of judgement in all things which lie within the narrow sphere of his knowledge. In understanding a man, in knowledge and simplicity still a child, ' he no longer retains any thing that is extraordinary, but his extraordinary fate, ' his indescribable goodness, and the exceeding amiableness of his ' disposition.'

Such is the description given us of this unfortunate victim of a cruelty which appears as unaccountable as atrocious. Why was such care manifested to preserve a life from extinction, which it was deemed necessary for any vile reason to bury in the darkness of the grave? What remaining feeling of compunction, what other conceivable motive could restrain poor Caspar's gaoler from being the murderer of his animal life, as well as of his intellectual being? These and a hundred other questions naturally suggest themselves, to which no answer can be given. An attempt to assassinate Caspar in Oct. 1829, from which he narrowly escaped, warrants the supposition that some individuals are still living, upon whom his history would fix the brand of infamy. But that history is written only in a book which will not be opened

till the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.

Were not the main facts attested by such ample evidence, there are many points upon which incredulity might fix itself. That Caspar had been immured in his hole long enough to affect the formation of his bones, is certain; but could he have been kept there from absolute infancy? Was his mind always the blank which it appeared to be on his first introduction to the world? Or had it been reduced to that state by diabolical artifice? What must have been the effect of the opiates by which he appears to have been periodically laid in utter insensibility, and of those long and dreamless slumbers, upon his intellectual facul-

ties, if previously developed? Must they not have tended to reduce him to idiotcy? Is it not conceivable that all memory and knowledge might thus have become effaced? Might not this have been the object and expectation of those who consigned him living to his sepulchre? And may not the attempt at assassination have been instigated by the discovery that the design had not been fully accomplished; that he was not reduced to idiotcy; that his powers, though utterly dormant, were not destroyed; and by the fear that his extinguished recollections might yet come to life?

But it is useless to start these speculations. Viewed as a psychological phenomenon, poor Caspar affords some interesting illustrations of the process of education we all pass through in infancy, and of the dependence of the internal faculties, as regards their development, upon external objects, as well as some other points interesting to the physiologist. To these we cannot now advert. One valuable lesson, however, all may derive from the perusal of the narrative: it should make us thankful for our childhood, and teach us to adore the wisdom of God, as conspicuous in that beautiful order in which the powers of our nature are successively and harmoniously developed, each stage being preparatory to the next, and gently melting into it, and every season of life having its own proper knowledge, business, and happiness. Let 'the youth without childhood' teach us how blessed a thing it is to have been a child.

- Art. VII. 1. Civil Establishments of Christianity, tried by their only authoritative Test, the Word of God. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., Glasgow. 8vo, pp. 52. Glasgow, 1833.
- 2. Extracts from Statements of the Difference between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, as adopted by Seceders; and the Profession contained in the New Testimony and other Acts, as adopted by the General Associate Synod; particularly on the power of the Magistrates respecting Religion. By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Second Edition. pp. 52. Glasgow, 1833.
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- 9. On Ecclesiastical Establishments: an Address. By J. J. Davies. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.
- 10. Self Defence, being an Answer to a Publication, entitled "War against the Church," &c., &c. By the Rev. William Chaplin. 18mo, pp. 23. Price 3d. Bishop's Stortford, 1832.

THE chief seat of ecclesiastical war at the present moment is on the other side of the Tweed. Here, the controversy has seemed to languish, and the Church of England has been allowed a breathing time, during which she is being exhorted by her own prophets to repent and reform. But in Scotland, it is not Church Reform that is sought for, but just a doing away with the Ecclesiastical Establishment in toto. There, the dispute is not about vestments or formularies, confirmation or the burial service. No prelates lift their mitred heads in lordship over their brethren in the Scottish Establishment. The grounds of dissent are far less complicated there, than in this country; relating not so much to the polity or structure of the Church, or to any of its forms and practices, as to the corruptions which are believed to result inevitably from the unlawful connexion between the Church and the State. It is against Church Establishments as such, against any species of 'civil establishment of Christianity,' any 'com-" pulsive' mode of supporting the teachers of religion, that Mr. Marshall, Dr. Wardlaw, Mr. Ewing, and their friends and colleagues, feel themselves conscientiously bound to raise their voice in solemn protest. The formalism, the lethargy, the secret infidelity which have deplorably overspread the Church of Scotland, may be traced, in their opinion, to its anti-Christian alliance with state patronage. The existence of the church establishment is believed to be a formidable barrier to the propagation of the Gospel, by means of the mischievous authority with which it invests an unconverted ministry, and the obstacles it opposes to the evangelical labours of those who, without its pale, are branded with the name of sectaries. Its necessary effect is, to fasten an unjust stigma upon all who scruple conformity to its requisitions; to repel the non-established sects from all equal fellowship; to separate, by mere secular distinction and political circumstance, those whom Christianity should unite; to diffuse a sectarian spirit, and to scatter through the land, the seeds of discord. Toleration, another word for sufferance, is the utmost that an Establishment can extend to non-established communities, although agreeing with itself in every essential doctrine, and even in its mode of government and ritual: whereas, but for the invidious incorporation of the favoured section of the general Church, it is believed, the various sects, if they continued in separation, would at least recognize each other as integral parts of the same body, and maintain, if not a uniformity of service, a unity of spirit, in the bond of peace.

But the sturdy advocates of the Voluntary Church principle go further, and contend not merely for a total divorce between the Church and the State, as regards patronage, but for an entire abandonment and annihilation of any state provision, or even any endowment of any description. That Endowments have done much harm to religion, we are not disposed to deny; but their absolute unlawfulness we have yet to see proved. It is our intention, on the present occasion, to lay impartially before our readers the respective statements and arguments of the polemics on either side, rather than to attempt an adjudication of the very delicate and difficult question to which they relate, and which most of our readers will already have settled completely to their own satisfaction. We shall take the liberty, however, of

premising a few general observations.

And first, we may be allowed to remark, that if the scheme of an Establishment of religion can be proved to have failed in Scotland, which could certainly boast, at one time, of the purest and most efficient Church in Christendom, the cause of Establishments may well be given up as hopeless. That it has failed in Ireland, and worse than failed, is obvious to all the world, except those who think that the use of a Church is to garrison a country for its absentee proprietors and foreign Government. But the Established Church in Ireland is the richest, the Established Church in Scotland is one of the poorest in Christendom. The one has been a sinecure Church; the other a working one. The one is all glorious with four arch-bishops, twenty-two bishops, and a full complement of deans and other staff officers of the church militant; wanting nothing but to have its skeleton regiments filled up, its naked architecture clothed with living congregations. The

Sister Establishment is as plain, and modest, and unassuming as possible, and although long deserted by the higher orders in favour of Episcopacy, the religion of gentlemen, still retains within its pale a respectable portion of the nation. If the virtue of this Church has yielded, or its efficiency been destroyed by its alliance to the State, then, we say, the expediency of Establish-

ments must be given up.

A second observation which it occurs to us to make, is this; that when such individuals as Mr. Douglas, Dr. Wardlaw, and Mr. Marshall are found ranged in opposition against the Establishment of their own country, it is not likely to be on slight grounds. A presumption lies against either the purity, or the catholicity, or the Scriptural construction of any Church which is found repelling from its communion, or at least alienating from herself, any large number of the wise, and virtuous, and devout. A national Church inclusive of but a section of the nation, approaches to a practical solecism. An Established Church which does not reach the moral wants, secure the general reverence, keep pace with the growing intelligence of the people, -which suffers itself to be out-grown by the people, to be out-shone, out-run, and out-done by non-established ministers, -has ceased to merit its high distinction, and to fulfil the conditions upon which it obtained its monopoly. A Church is a popular institution, or it is nothing. The people compose the materials of a Church; and when the nation have to any great extent deserted a Church, it may still be the State Church, the Court Church, the Established Church, but it is no longer the National Church.

Further, the parties who have engaged in the present controversy in Scotland, on the side of Voluntary Church principles, are individuals whose motives at least are above suspicion. They are neither fanatics in religion nor radicals in politics. If their opinions should be deemed extreme, they are chargeable with no vehemence of temper, no violence of conduct. Their piety is as exemplary as their attainments are respectable. If mistaken, they cannot be suspected of any sinister purpose, or of any animosity against the Scottish clergy. If their theory be erroneous, they must be competent witnesses as to facts. Great practical evils could alone have produced so strong and extensively prevailing a feeling of dissatisfaction with an Establishment which, according to the language of her panegyrists, stands in proud pre-eminence over all other Church Establish-That the expediency of an Establishment should have even come to be questioned by those who have watched its working, proves how great must be the abuses that have so obscured its utility. No one ever complains of running water as a nuisance.

The actual predicament of the Church of Scotland is thus de-

scribed by Mr. Douglas.

It is obvious to the most superficial observer, that the Church of Scotland, unless some remedy is provided, is, in this part of the country at least, in a rapid state of decay. We have the bare walls of an established Church, but the living stones are in every sense absent. The population of the country have gone elsewhere. The Church of Scotland, in several respects, is worse off than the established Church of Ireland. In the latter country, if the majority of the people are attached to Popery, the wealthier minority profess to adhere to reformed Episcopacy. In Scotland, the wealth of the country has long been Episcopalian. The Church of Scotland had its strong foundations fixed in the affections of the mass of the community, and the defection of the higher classes was therefore of less consequence. But now the solitude that prevails in many churches is a portentous sign, as far as respects the continuance of the present Establishment.—Douglas on Church Reform.

As the nature of the provision made for the Scottish clergy is imperfectly understood in this country, we shall transcribe from another pamphlet before us, an explanation of the present endowments of the Established Church, which will be seen to be free from many of the more prominent objections chargeable upon the sister Establishments.

'It is generally known that the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland is supported, partly by assessments upon the landed property of the country (understanding the tithes, or teinds, as they are called in Scotland, to be included in this,) partly by direct grants from Government, and partly by assessments upon the inhabitants of particular towns. The principal part of its revenue is derived from the first source, as the stipends of all the ministers in rural parishes are imposed, in the first instance, on the teinds, which must be exhausted before the incumbent can claim on any other fund; and the expense of supporting the fabric of the different parish churches, and of building and repairing the manses, is raised by an assessment on the land itself.

Before the Reformation, the Established Church, then Popish, was supported partly by the church lands, or benefices, which are said to have comprehended about a half of all the landed property in the country, and partly by the teinds; that is, a tenth part of the produce of nearly all the other lands in the country. There were, and are still, particular cases of tithe free lands, which are understood by lawyers, but to which it is unnecessary to allude in a popular account of the matter like this, particularly as these bore only a very small proportion to the lands, the teinds of which were not exempted. Such was the state of the Romish Church, and it was not the fault of the reformed clergy, that their church was denied as splendid a patrimony; for we find from the First Book of Discipline, that they claimed the whole benefices and tithes which had belonged to the Popish Church, partly for their own use, and partly for pious purposes, including among these the relief of the poor, and the support of schools and universities, (these being the objects, as they alleged, which were contemplated in the original destination of the tithes, and other property, to the Church,) but all to be under the management and control

of the Church.

But while we state that such were the exorbitant demands of Knox, Melville, and the other reformed pastors who compiled the Books of Discipline, it would be unjust in the extreme to say any thing which might convey the impression that they were actuated by mercenary motives in the matter. We believe those eminent men, and most worthy patriots, whose names we have mentioned, and many others of the reformed clergy, were vastly superior to any thing so base as the love of money in the settlement of this great question. Beyond all doubt the glory of God and the happiness of their country were the objects dearest to their hearts, and they conscientiously believed they were best promoting these by claiming for the reformed church all that had been enjoyed by the ancient superstition; and all the historical evidence we possess is opposed to the idea, that they either wished or claimed more than a moderate provision for themselves as individuals. But admitting all this, and feeling a sincere veneration for the men, we are thoroughly convinced that they erred, -that their principles were fundamentally erroneous as to the mode in which religion was to be supported; and looking to the history of other ecclesiastics, we cannot doubt that such power and prosperity as they sought would have destroyed them, and have cursed the country with a wealthy and worldly priesthood after them, little better than those whose influence they had so happily subverted. We therefore feel very grateful to Providence that the legislature took another view of the subject, and seized upon the whole revenues of the Popish Church as public property, allowing the old beneficiaries to enjoy twothirds of the benefices for life, and making the reformed clergy proper stipendiaries.

'The first legal provision made for the Protestant Church was by an act of the Privy Council, dated 15th February 1560. On this subject the admirable historian of the Reformation, (himself a great advocate for Establishments,) remarks :- "He (Knox) was still more indignant at their (the Court's) management in settling the provision for the ministers of the church. Hitherto they had lived chiefly on the benevolence of their hearers, and many of them had scarcely the means of subsistence; but repeated complaints having obliged the Privy Council to take up the affair, they came at last to the determination that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts; that two of these should be given to the ejected Popish clergy, and that the third part should be divided between the Court and the Protestant ministry." And, he adds in a note, "certain persons were appointed to fix the sums which were to be appropriated to the Court and to the Ministry, and also the particular salaries which were to be allotted to individual ministers, according to the circumstances in which they were placed."-" The persons appointed to modify the stipends were disposed to gratify the Queen, and her demands were readily answered, while the sums allotted to the ministers were as ill paid as they were paltry and inadequate. 'Weall,' exclaimed Knox when he heard of this disgraceful arrangement, 'if the end of this ordour pretendit to be takin for sustentatioun of the ministeris be

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happie, my judgment failes me. I sie twa pairtis freelie gevin to the devill, and the third mon be devyded betwix God and the devill. Who wold have thocht that when Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles, and have returned with empty sackes unto thair families? O happie servands of the devill, and miserabill servands of Jesus Christ, if efter this lyf thair wer not hell and heaven."

Knox's fears were justified by the result. The Romish Clergy knew that the benefices had been bestowed upon their Church, by the original proprietors, for very different purposes from those to which they were now to be appropriated, and under conditions with which it was impossible for the Protestants to comply. It was, therefore, quite natural, and quite in character with their Church, that nothing should be surrendered which could possibly be retained. The nobles and gentry again, who had got grants of some of the benefices, were equally desirous to secure what they had thus obtained, and used their court influence to get even the thirds of their benefices confirmed to them for their own private use. And lastly, the time-serving collectors were ever ready to sacrifice the interests of the poor ministers, who could be of no use in furthering their worldly views, and to secure, by prompt and liberal payment of the government's share of the thirds, the smiles of court favour. In short, the base struggle for the loaves and fishes had now commenced in the Scottish Reformed Church; and the Reformers descended from the high attitude of Ministers of the Gospel, to take a part in it,—a struggle which has not been productive of the same extent of evil here as in other parts of Europe, partly because the Presbyterian form of Church government forms a check against the exorbitant power and wealth of individual clergymen, but chiefly because the strength of the contending parties was so unequal. Our clergy had to contend with a sagacious and grasping laity, and an unfriendly court, and were never able to consolidate their power so as fully to obtain the secular advantages at which they aimed, and which they conscientiously believed to be necessary for the maintenance of religion.' Thoughts on Eccl. Estab. pp. 25-31.

By the Act of Parliament, 1567, c. 10, a very favourable change was effected on the revenues of the Church: it was provided that the thirds of the Popish benefices should be paid to collectors appointed by the clergy. Subsequent modifications took place, which were changes in details, not in principle. The most important was introduced by the Act, 1633, c. 19, by which power was given to value all the teinds in the country on equitable terms, the teind being declared to be equivalent to a fifth part of the rent, and reasonable deductions being allowed in calculating the rent †.

[&]quot; 'M'Crie's Life of Knox, Vol. II. p. 43.'

[†] The powers of modifying stipends and valuing teinds, at first vested in commissioners, were transferred to the Court of Session,

'A valuation being once made, and regularly completed, fixes the tithe for ever: so that no increase of rental from industry and improvement, or from the altered circumstances of the country, can cause any increase in its amount. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how very slightly land-owners in Scotland now feel the burden of the Church, if they are fortunate enough to have sufficiently old valuations: and valuations a hundred or two hundred years old are exceedingly common. Besides authorising these valuations, this act allows every heritor, (with a few exceptions not worth noticing here,) to buy up his own tithes, in some cases, at six, and in others at nine years' purchase; and as tithes are no longer drawn in kind, even by lay titulars, (a fifth part of the rent being always held as an equivalent for them,) they are paid by the land-owner or heritor without the direct intervention of the tenant, and without those numerous vexations and irritations which accompany the exaction of tithes in England and Ireland. Add to all this, that the Scottish clergy have no proper right to the tithes themselves, but only to competent, and generally very moderate stipends out of them, and the superiority of our system will be apparent.'

'The expense of repairing or rebuilding the fabric of the parish churches, and the ministers' manses, is not a burden on the teinds, but on the lands themselves; so that although an heritor's whole teinds may be exhausted by payments of stipend, and he consequently cannot be compelled to bear his share of any future augmentations, which the Court may award to the clergyman, yet he must pay his share of the expense of repairing or rebuilding the church and the manse, in proportion to his rental; and law-suits on this subject, either between the incumbent and heritors, or among the heritors themselves, are of frequent occurrence in the Court of Session. So much for the rural,

or partly rural parishes.

In purely urban parishes, again, which comprehend no lands, and, consequently, have no tithes from which the ministers' stipends can be defrayed, the necessary funds are raised, either by the seat-rents, as in Glasgow, or by direct and indirect assessments upon the inhabitants, whether Dissenters or Churchmen, as in Edinburgh. In the first case, namely, that of paying the clergy out of the seat-rents, the principle of Establishments being virtually departed from, Dissenters have no right to complain; and though it may be doubted whether, in a religious point of view, this plan (which is generally practised by Dissenters also) may not be liable to objections, yet it is free from the compulsion that forms a necessary element in the other plan—that of assessments upon the inhabitants,—where the principle of force is in vigorous operation, from first to last, and has led to illegal resistance of late in Edinburgh, differing merely in degree, not in kind, from the distressing struggles between the Church and the people of Ireland.

'In urban parishes, we understand that the fabric of the churches

the supreme civil court of the country, by Act 1707, c. 9.; and the judges of that court have now, as commissioners for the teinds, jurisdiction in every thing connected with the temporalities of the church.

is built and repaired out of the common funds of the town; so that, of course, all the inhabitants are compelled to pay their share by the usual forms of law.

'Lastly, the Legislature has from time to time made direct grants for the Church of Scotland from the public money. These grants are either for the purpose of increasing the stipends of the clergy in rural parishes to the minimum of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, when the teinds of the parish are insufficient; or for building churches in remote parts of the country, which are handed over as a matter of course to the Established Church, to the entire exclusion of all the various bodies of Dissenters, who must have paid their share of the expense of them along with their other taxes.'

Thoughts on Eccl. Estab. pp. 35-8.

Great as is the superiority of the Scottish system over the English tithe system, it neither precludes litigation, nor does it exclude the principle of compulsion, upon which, indeed, the whole is based. The Scottish Reformers invoked the power of the civil magistrate both to enforce the payment of their stipends, and to give penal efficacy to the censures of the Church!

That the Establishment rests upon a compulsory provision, is not denied by its advocates, who, on the contrary maintain the superiority of that mode of providing for the teachers of Christianity over the primitive method of voluntary contribution. Mr. Fleming has laboured this point with much ingenuity; and we must transcribe his remarks.

'The history of the Voluntary system, and its operation, is this: The first Christians understood this command fully, "the labourer is worthy of his hire." In compliance with it, they sold their houses and lands, and laid the price of them at the Apostles' feet. continued for some time, when it was changed into the provision of voluntary oblations of bread and wine made to the Minister, at the administration of the Sacrament of the Supper and the feast of the Agapæ. By and bye additions were made to these oblations; presents of raiment, furniture, houses, lands, and valuable possessions; thus fulfilling the words of our Lord in Mark x. 29, 30. Feeling their state of dependence, the dignified Clergy used every mean, by the middle of the second century, to rise to independence, by fair and honourable means. But this was not the case with all clergymen of inferior note. Burning with a love of wealth and independence, they practised the most fawning arts of adulation and flattery. Nothing was left unessayed to worm themselves into the good graces of their congregations. If any of them were sick, there was given the most assiduous attention; if any misfortune, the most apparent sincere sympathy; if death occurred in the family, deep condolence was not awanting in that tender season. They knew human nature well; and as the hand is readiest to be opened when the heart is soft, there was then no lack of appliances, by hints, insinuations, and suggestions, and enforcing powerfully the text, "charity covereth a multitude of sins."

And great was their success; for though the disciples did not, after the first century, sell their houses and lands, and lay the price of them at their pastors' feet, as they did to the Apostles, yet the wealth they rapidly acquired from their flocks shewed how successful they had been in fleecing them, and gave an earnest of what in future would happen under this "Voluntary" scheme, namely, that the spi-ritual power would in time swallow up the temporal, and, possessing itself of the wealth of the world, would bring in the mystery of iniquity. Under this system, created by dependency and a desire to rise above it, the Clergy lost no opportunity that could enable them to accomplish so desirable an object. In the course of events this opportunity was afforded. After Jerusalem was destroyed a second time, and the Jews scattered abroad, the exercise of their religion was forbidden and denied them. On this, many, considering that the New Testament was founded upon the Old, became proselytes. The Christian Clergy, seizing the advantage, set up a claim to be the successors of the Jewish priesthood. The people came to believe them; and the doctrine of tithes came to be insisted on as their right, which, in a little time, both in the Churches of the East and of the West, were paid generally to the Clergy. After this, wealth flowed in upon them from all quarters. The Bishops became great and powerful, and vied, as we have seen, with kings and princes.-The wealth of the great cities and the surrounding district came gradually, during the third century, into the hands of the Bishops. The same system of oblations, gifts, and presents, was carried on in the fourth century. In whatever way the Clergy was enriched by Constantine and his sons, &c .whether by houses, or lands, or churches-it was by the voluntary Hence church-lands, and tithes, and churches, were originally voluntary gifts. By the time of Pepin, all the lands of France had, by donations, come into the hands of the Clergy. The speech of CHILPERIC, grandson of CLOVIS, is famous. Complaining of these donations, he says, "Our Exchequer is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the Clergy; none reign now but Bishops, who live in grandeur, while our grandeur is over.'

Through this voluntary system, there was nothing but continual quarrels between the Lords and the Bishops, the gentlemen and the Abbots. What the old lords and gentlemen gave away voluntarily on their death-beds to the Clergy, their sons seldom failed to redemand. "Hence," says Montesquieu, "if the Clergy were full of ambition, the Laity were not without theirs;—if they gave their estates upon their death-beds to the Church, their successors wanted not means to resume them. In this way the Clergy constantly acquired—constantly

refunded-and yet still acquired."

'Charles Martel stripped, at once, the Clergy of their whole Churchlands, and bestowed them upon his soldiers. The soldiers retained them with a firm grasp. It was in vain to persuade them to make restoration. Charlemagne found things in this state. On the one hand, as he could not compel the army to part with the Church-lands; so, "on the other hand," he was clearly of opinion, that "Christianity ought not to perish for want of Ministers, Churches, and instruction."

Unable to restore the Church-lands, therefore, he resolved to establish the tithes, which, though paid the Clergy voluntarily from the middle of the second century, yet had never, by any civil enact-ment, been made the property of the Church in France. In a civil point of view, it was "a new kind of property," which had this advantage in favour of the Clergy, that as tithes were given particularly to the Church, it was easier in process of time to know when they were usurped. Charlemagne's famous division of the tithes into four parts-for the repairing of the Churches-for the Poor-for the Bishops-and for the Clergy, manifestly proves that he wanted to restore the Church to that fixed and permanent state which she had lost. This law of Charlemagne's was speedily copied by all the nations of Christendom,-Alfred of England, Fergus of Scotland, &c., adopted it. It is true, there were many ecclesiastical councils long before this, by which the tithes were ordered to be paid, but this was the first civil enactment, we believe, on the records of any country, making the payment of them "compulsory." They were to be in lieu of all fees, fines, donations, or oblations to the Clergy; but this was a vain expectation; no law could prevent the secret transactions of a deathbed. What by dreams and visions, by the doctrine of purgatoryauricular confession-indulgences-the forgiveness of sins-and securing, for the dying, a passport to heaven,—the Romish Clergy soon began again, by the voluntary system, to acquire land, to seat themselves quietly in the ecclesiastical seats, as lords paramount, and again to possess anew the wealth of Christendom. Popes, Bishops, Monks, and Friars, &c., all acting on it, soon amassed the riches of each country. Scarcely had a Monastery or Abbey existed in Scotland for more than half a century, says Chalmers, until it had drawn into itself the wealth of the surrounding district.

'Such, in all places, was the working of the voluntary system, from the days of the Apostles down to the Reformation. Then, the whole system of popery in this country was put an end to—the king and his nobles took possession of the riches of the Hierarchy, which at that time were equal to half of all the wealth of Scotland. The Presbyterian Clergy were limited to the third of the benefices of the Scotlish Bishops, which was never paid them, but retained from them by the Popish Bishops under various pretences, or kept from them by trick, chicanery, and fraud. Indeed, tithes and Church-lands are the

very soul and heart's blood of Popery.

In 1633, the stipend of the Protestant Clergy here, was put upon the rent, and not on the tithes, as we shall immediately see. Fees at marriages, baptisms, burials, administration of the Sacrament, &c., visiting the sick and the dying, were taken away. The Scotch Presbyterian Clergy spurned at these as a selling of the Sacraments, and considering them as rank Popery, gave them up, with all pluralities, places, pensions, and non-residence, and confined themselves to the humble and pitiful stipends, then awarded them by the commissioners for the plantation of kirks and the valuation of teinds.

Then commenced, in this country, what is individually called the

"compulsory" system, which alone has prevented the people from being robbed, as in the days of yore, and kept no small part of their property from finding its way into the treasury of the Church or the coffers of her Ministers. Indeed, the voluntary system, in its workings, was admirably adapted to impoverish the Laity and enrich the Clergy. The good which the "compulsory" system has done, is incalculable—it has erected and endowed our Parochial Schools and Universities—built and endowed several Churches—enabled every child, even the poorest, to receive a good education, in order to fit him for the world;—while it has afforded to all ranks and degrees in the land, religious ordinances—the benefit of the word and Sacraments—

without money and without price.

'Such is a short view of the operations of the "voluntary" and "compulsory" system. While the one centered in Monks and Friars, in Bishops and Popes, in Exarchs and Patriarchs, the riches of the earth enabling them to live in luxury and voluptuousness, and to vie in splendour with kings, to trample upon the rights of the poor and the privileges of the people; - the operations of the compulsory system, by limiting the subsistence of the Clergy-fixing it down to a certain sum-abolishing all fees for clerical duty-for births, marriages, and deaths-preventing the Clergy from taking advantage of the piety of the weaker sex, and working upon the troubled and guilty consciences of the stronger, on a death-bed, to give to the Church their wealth as an atonement for past sins—the property of many families, by the compulsory system, has been preserved to them, which, by the arts and artifices of the other system, would have been taken away. By the compulsory, the Parochial Schools and Universities; -and by the labours of a talented and zealous Ministry, a healthy and invigorating breeze has been sent throughout our native land, thereby raising the character of our countrymen, and making them known, distinguished, and respected, for their intelligence and conduct in every clime and quarter of the globe where they so-

But take away this "compulsory" system, and the National character will soon be lost. Her Parochial Schools shut up, the children of the poor will return to ignorance and vice—her Universities, robbed of their tiends, will have either to shut their gates, or raise their Fees so high as to exclude all but the sons of the rich and the opulent,—her Parish Churches pulled down, her Sabbaths—heavenly emblem of rest—will no longer be spent in pious exercises by the people;—the stirring sound of the Gospel, filling the mind with moral and religious instruction, and atuning the voice to the melody of Psalms, will cease to be heard, save at dreary intervals, by some itinerant, perhaps illiterate Preacher, who has no permanent connexion with, or sympathetic interest in the parishioners. In the weary want of religious ordinances, intelligence will depart, and ignorance and vice, like moorlands once cultivated, but long out of culture, will return again to the savage

state, with all the ferocity and barbarity of former times!!!'

pp. 73-78.

It is always unfortunate for the cause of the controvertist when

he succeeds in proving too much. It has usually been urged in support of the necessity of Church establishments, that, but for the compulsive operation of the law, most persons would give nothing towards the support of the ministers of religion. Paley has made use of this argument, asserting, that ' to the scheme of 'voluntary contribution there exists this insurmountable objection, that few would ultimately contribute any thing at all.' This was assuredly not the case in the primitive Church. Church, as Mr. Douglas remarks, was corrupted by wealth long before it was corrupted by power. Long before even persecution had ceased, the eminent situations in the Church had become tempting objects for the disgraceful rivalry of worldly cupidity and secular ambition. What Church has not suffered from plethory?—In the preceding extract, the astonishing force of the voluntary principle is admitted. Establishments, it seems, like the statute of mortmain and other similar provisions, are intended to impose restrictions upon the ever encroaching demands of the Church, and to limit the amount of the voluntary fund! We know, indeed, that the Mendicant Orders of former days soon came to rival in wealth the secular clergy themselves. The voluntary principle shews itself to be not less active and powerful in the Romish Church to the present day, wherever it is not swamped by endowments. Look at Ireland, for instance, where a numerous priesthood are supported by the contributions, for the most part cheerfully yielded, of the millions of potato-fed peasantry who live in the extremest indigence. According to Mr. Fleming's argument, the best way to curb the licentiousness of the voluntary principle in Ireland, which leads the tenant, in numerous instances, to rob his landlord in order to pay his priest,the only way to protect the people from being fleeced by the Romish clergy, would be to establish Popery,-to pay the priests by a State provision. We do not say that he is altogether wrong in his reasoning. Unhappily, however, it is the doom of the poor Irish to be robbed any way; first by the Established Church, and then by the Church which is not established; first by the titheowner, and then by his own priest; by the latter with his consent, by the former without it. Voluntarily or involuntarily, he 3 robbed by all who have to do with him. Yet, there is, after all, a wide difference between paying one's own minister and paying the priest of a foreign and abhorred communion. We do not imagine that men would voluntarily give to any Church of which they did not deem themselves members. The question is, Ought they to be compelled to do so?

Dr. Wardlaw, whose sermon has produced so strong a sensation in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, waives altogether every consideration relating to political expediency; and, appealing to the New Testament as the only authoritative test, he infers, first from its 'entire silence' as to any thing resembling Establishments, and then from its positive declarations respecting the distinguishing characteristics of the kingdom of Christ,—that the scheme of an Establishment is unscriptural, and therefore unlawful. From the 'differential qualities' of that kingdom, he infers, 'that it is the systematic and unavoidable tendency of national 'Establishments to corrupt the Church of God.' This may, indeed, be affirmed to be the tendency of prosperity, of wealth, of security; but Dr. W. contends, that, in Establishments, there is a systematic tendency of this kind, the specific operation of which he afterwards illustrates. 'A system of national Christianity' necessarily, he thinks, involves corruption of the Church, 'as 'composed of persons.'

When we speak of a Christian nation, and when a church, in any considerable degree, comes to be identified with the civil community, the idea of purity is out of the question .- But this is not the full amount of the evil. Its consequences are worse than itself. A most extensive and ruinous delusion comes thus to be practised upon the souls of men; that, namely, which arises from the spread and prevalence of nominal Christianity. Apart from the entire absence of scriptural authority in their support, and their contrariety to the fundamental principles of the "kingdom which is not of this world,"this has ever appeared to my mind the grand practical mischief of religious establishments; a mischief such as no alleged benefit can go near to counterbalance. The idea of a nation of Christians, in the sense in which the phrase is now used, is one which has no exemplar in the New Testament; and it is one which deludes and ruins souls by thousands. My firm conviction is, (and I speak it, not in the heat and haste of controversial discussion, but with calm deliberation and intense regret,) that national Christianity, in which is necessarily involved the admission to Christian privileges, of multitudes whose Christianity consists of nothing but the name, and their accidental residence in a Christian land,-is chargeable with a more extensive destruction of souls, than any other extraneous cause whatever which it is possible to specify.—When "the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch," the designation was one which marked a definite class of persons,-who were separated from the world, and distinguished by a peculiar faith and a peculiar character. They were the same as the disciples, the believers, the saints. But with us it is far otherwise. Christianity is now a geographical term. The mass of the community, living within certain bounding lines, are Christians, merely because they are not Mahometans, not Pagans. They would resent it as an insult, were the designation refused them; while yet the application to them of some others of the primitive appellations of the followers of Jesus, would be resented as a greater insult still,—or perhaps would be stared and laughed at, as a thing utterly incongruous, and, by the very force of contrast, irresistibly ludicrous,—a thing to which there was not in their minds even the remotest pretension! What thousands and tens of thousands there are, who, from courtesy to the

religion of their country, sit down at the sacramental table, or kneel for the bread and wine at the Episcopal altar, who have not one correct conception of the Gospel, or one solitary feature of the spiritual character which the New Testament represents the faith of it as producing!—I say again, I know not any one thing that, in a country like ours, operates with a greater "latitude of ruin" than the prevalence of nominal Christianity;—by means of which men are led away from the spirituality, and sacredness, and definite distinctiveness of a Bible profession, and made to rest in the name without the thing, the form without the power, the outward observance without the inward grace. And the evil is inseparable from every national system. It is an evil which the power of custom may prevent many from duly considering; but which it is not possible that any spiritual mind can consider with lightness." pp. 44, 45.

We have extracted this paragraph, not merely as highly deserving of attention in itself, but because neither Mr. Fleming nor Mr. Brown has ventured to grapple with it: both slur it over most awkwardly. The former is rash enough to deny that the Church of Scotland claims to comprehend the entire nation. Improper persons may, he admits, occasionally, no doubt very rarely, by the greatest chance, 'obtain sealing ordinances in the Establishment.' But is this never found done among sectarian churches? As this question challenges the comparison between the Scottish Establishment and other communities on the point of discipline, we deem it necessary to transcribe the following remarks upon this head from the Layman's pamphlet.

'Supposing a pious member of the Established Church of Scotland to be a warm admirer of its constitution and ascendancy, does it not sometimes occur to him as strange, that he never hears of a rich heritor, being brought under the lash of ecclesiastical discipline, amidst all the boasted power which our Scottish Clergy pretend to enjoy, of executing the laws of Christ's house? Is he quite sure that this arises from the fact, that discipline is less necessary in their case, than in the case of the poor profligate, over whom we admit a conscientious clergyman may exercise some restraint in the matter of "church privileges?" We should like to know how many years that clergyman could remain in the Established Church of Scotland, who would fearlessly exercise the authority with which his Divine Master has invested the church over all, both rich and poor, who profess to belong to it?

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'Again, are our pious brethren of the Establishment at all acquainted with the system, through means of which lay elders are elected for their highest Church Court? Are they aware of the political intrigue and debauchery which so often disgrace the election of magistrates for royal burghs, and the absolute unfitness, in most cases, of these persons to elect, in their turn, members for the General Assembly? "Oh now," we shall, of course, be told, "you have left the general principle, and are attacking abuses." Well, be it so; but

insist you upon the correction of these abuses, and see how long you will continue to be the National Church?'—Thoughts on Ecclesiastical Establishments, &c., p. 60.

Nevertheless, Mr. Fleming is confident that the Church of Scotland, if judged of from the manners, customs, opinions, and behaviour of the generality of its members, from the writings and discourses of its learned men, and from its public formularies, as 'the wise and prudent' would judge of it; -if fairly tried by this accommodating rule, would appear not only to have been unjustly loaded with calumny and reproach, (by whom?) 'but, on a comparison with any other Church, would come forth fair as ' the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible still to her enemies as ' an army with banners'!! Worthy of Habakkuk Mucklewrath himself! A little further on, however, Mr. F. says: 'Her ' alleged defections, abuses, and errors, seceders have nothing to ' do with: be her faults great or small, they affect them not. 'Prudence, therefore, as well as right religious feeling and 'Christian charity should say to them, Let the Church alone. 'She meddles not with you: why then meddle with her?' All this betrays a very sore feeling, and a sorry lack of argument. Do not the abuses of a national institution concern every member of the nation? Is it nothing to a seceder, that a Church, though it may not meddle with him, is deluding and fatally beguiling his neighbour, and exerting a deleterious influence upon the best interests of his countrymen? We regret to perceive the angry spirit which animates this jealous champion of Establishments. In the following passage, it flames out into most sulphurous rhetoric.

'This Church, so full of utility—of sound doctrine, and pure morality—the glory of Protestantism, they would pull down!!!—nay; are turning earth and hell to overthrow, and leaving nothing undone to accomplish it!!! The congregated rabble are the "pile"—the "Voluntaries" the "fire"—infidels the "wood"—and the breath of the mighty, in the high places of the earth, like a stream of brimstone is kindling it. The spirit of burning is in them, and if not speedily quenched, will consume the kingdom, and with it all its venerable institutions.' Fleming, p. 95.

Mr. Brown is a controvertist of a different stamp, and his volume is well deserving of perusal. The reader will be favourably impressed with the good sense and proper feeling which are displayed in the opening paragraph of his Defence of Church Establishments.

'It requires but little penetration to see that mere controversy will not place our Church Establishment beyond the reach of danger. The Church of Scotland must advance in that reformation of abuses which she has begun, and which, thanks be to God, she has the power.

of carrying on, if faithful to herself. Her ministers must steadily pursue their work of faith and labour of love; coming cheerfully forward, at the same time, to own, or rather to search out whatever evils may have crept into the administration of the Church; and having it for their honest desire and determination to remove these, not only in order to save themselves from public disapprobation, but from a sense of duty to Christ, love to the souls of men, and repentance for past misimprovement of privileges. A course like this, it might well be hoped, would conciliate the affections of all who have their country's good at heart. At all events, it would do what is more important; it would avert from us that displeasure of the great Head of the Church, which, incurred as it has been by a course of defection from his cause, has long been manifesting itself in spiritual judgements upon the land, and may be expected to issue in temporal judgements, except we unfeignedly return to Him from whom we have revolted.' pp. 1, 2.

In this volume, Mr. Brown abstains altogether from handling the question relating to Church Property; confining himself to a vindication of the Union of Church and State, first, on general principles, and secondly, as subsisting in the particular case of the Church of Scotland. He has conducted the argument with great ability and good temper, and, upon some points, seems to have the advantage over his ultra opponents. As we anticipate, however, a reply to the work, from the pen either of Dr. Wardlaw or of some of his friends, we shall not at present undertake the delicate office of umpire in the cause, but must frankly confess that we think each party has succeeded in proving the other to be somewhat in the wrong.

We had intended to notice the other pamphlets enumerated at the beginning of this article; but time forbids. We shall return

to the subject in our next Number.

ART. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press and shortly to be published, The Sketch of a Complete System of Colonial Law: being a Summary of of all such parts of the Law of England as are suitable also to the condition of her Colonies in general; and of those peculiar regulations required by the relation between the parent and the offspring states. By Francis Neale, Esq. M.A. Barrister at Law.

In the press, Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. James Carlile, Junior Minister of the Scots' Church, in Mary's Abbey (Capel Street) Dublin.

Preparing for immediate publication, in one volume 12mo., A Guide to an Irish Gentleman in his Search for a Religion.

Just published, in two volumes, containing nearly two thousand one hundred pages, with the Arms admirably engraved by Mr. S. Williams, and distributed in connection with the several pedigrees throughout the work, Sharpe's Peerage of the British Empire, exhibiting its present State, and deducing the existing Descents from the Ancient Nobility of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Lectures lately delivered by Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, at the Congregational Library, Blomfield Street, Finsbury, are announced for publication in the course of the ensuing autumn.

In the press, The Judgement of the Flood, a Poem. By John A. Heraud, Author of "The Descent into Hell."

In the press, Old Bailey Experience. Remarks on our Criminal Jurisprudence and the Practice of our penal Courts at the Old Bailey, illustrated with numerous Cases. Also an Essay on Prison Discipline, in which the views of Archbishop Whately are considered and refuted; with many hints for the better management of Prisons, and amendment of the Laws for the more effectual suppression of crime. By the Author of a series of Papers on the same subject, published in Fraser's Magazine under the title of the "Schoolmaster's Experience in Newgate."

In the press, Demetrius: a tale of Modern Greece. In three Cantos. With other Poems. By Agnes Strickland.

The First Number has just appeared of The Magazine of Botany and Gardening, British and Foreign, edited by J. Rennie, M.A., Professor of Natural History, King's College, London; assisted by some of the most eminent Botanists in Europe. Each Number will contain Eight Plates of the most rare and valuable Specimens of Plants, executed by an eminent Artist, and coloured from Nature. Also, Sixteen Quarto Pages of Original Matter.

On the 1st of July will be published, in demy 8vo., printed entirely with type cast expressly for the Work, the First Number of a New English Version of the Great Work of Cuvier-"Le Regne Animale," or "The Animal Kingdom." This illustrious Naturalist, shortly before his decease, put forth a final Edition of his Animal Kingdom, and in so altered and improved a form as to give it a completely new character. This publication, consequently, has had the effect of superseding the old Edition, together with all the Translations made from that Edition, including the large Work published under the superintendence of Dr. Griffiths. The Work will consist of 36 Monthly Numbers; each will be sold at One Shilling. The Letterpress will be an exact translation of the original, and a series of notes will be subjoined, in which each branch of the general science will be carried up to the present state of knowledge. The Plates, which constitute the most important source of expense, will amount to no fewer than Five Hundred; they will be engraved on steel, and coloured in the most beautiful manner, in conformity with the great object of illustrating, according to nature, those characteristics of animals which depend on colour. The advantages of this new Work will at once be demonstrated, when it is stated, that, for the sum of thirty-six shillings, the Version of a celebrated standard Work, richly illustrated, will be obtained, which, in the original, with its plates, costs more than thirty-six pounds!

Early in August may be expected, Travels in the United States and Canada; containing some Account of their Scientific Institutions, and a few Notices of the Geology and Mineralogy of those Countries. By J. Finch, Esq., Corr. Memb. Nat. Hist. Soc. Montreal, &c. &c.

Nearly ready, in 2 vols. post 8vo, Traditionary Stories of Old Families, and Legendary Illustrations of Family History; with Notes, Historical and Biographical. By Andrew Picken, Author of Dominie's Legacy.

The Second Volume of the Naturalist's Library, edited by Sir William Jardine, Bart. will be published on the First of August, and contain the first volume of the Natural History of Monkeys.

In the Press, to be published by subscription, in 1 vol. 8vo., with Lithographic Plates, price One Guinea, Russia: consisting of Miscellaneous Observations on the past and present State of that Country and its Inhabitants: compiled from Notes made on the Spot, during travels undertaken at different times, in the service of the Bible Society, and a Residence of many Years in that Country; with the advantages afforded by an Acquaintance with the Language, and Personal Intercourse with all Classes. By Robert Pinkerton, D.D., Author of "The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia," and (during nearly 20 years) Foreign Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society. * The principal object of Dr. Pinkerton, in this Publication, is to make some Provision for his Family, consisting of a Wife and Seven Children, after his Decease.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED. ART. IX.

BIOGRAPHY.

Biographical Recollections of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. By J. M. Morris. 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

HISTORY.

Memoirs of the Court and Character of Charles I. By Lucy Aikin. 2 Vols. 8vo. With Portrait. 11. 9s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Collection of Thirty-four Literary Portraits from Frazer's Magazine. In 1 Vol. 4to. neatly bound, with gilt leaves. 2l. 2s. plain proofs; and 3l. 3s. India proofs.

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THEOLOGY.

The Duties and Encouragements Sunday School Teachers. By Wm. B. Sprague, D.D. Author of Lectures on Religious Revivals. 24mo. (Printed for the Sunday School Union.)

The Pulpit. Vol. XXI. 8vo. 7s. 6d. Dissent the Cause of God and Truth. By Jer. Watson. 6d.

The Clerical Duties of the Church of England opposed to Allegiance to Christ. Letters to an Evangelical Clergyman. By

W. Gates, Sen. 8vo. 1s. Dr. Chalmers' Bridgewater Treatise:-On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution, of Man. 2 Vols. 8vo.

Dr. Kidd's Bridgewater Treatise: -On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, principally with Reference to the Supply of his Wants, and the Exercise of his Intellectual Faculties. By John Kidd, M.D., F.R.S., and Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford. The Second Edition. 9s. 6d.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A Series of Journals of several Expeditions made in Western Australia during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832, under the sanction of the Governor, Sir James Stirling; containing the latest Authentic Information relative to that Country; accompanied by a Map. Royal 18mo. 5s. 6d.

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